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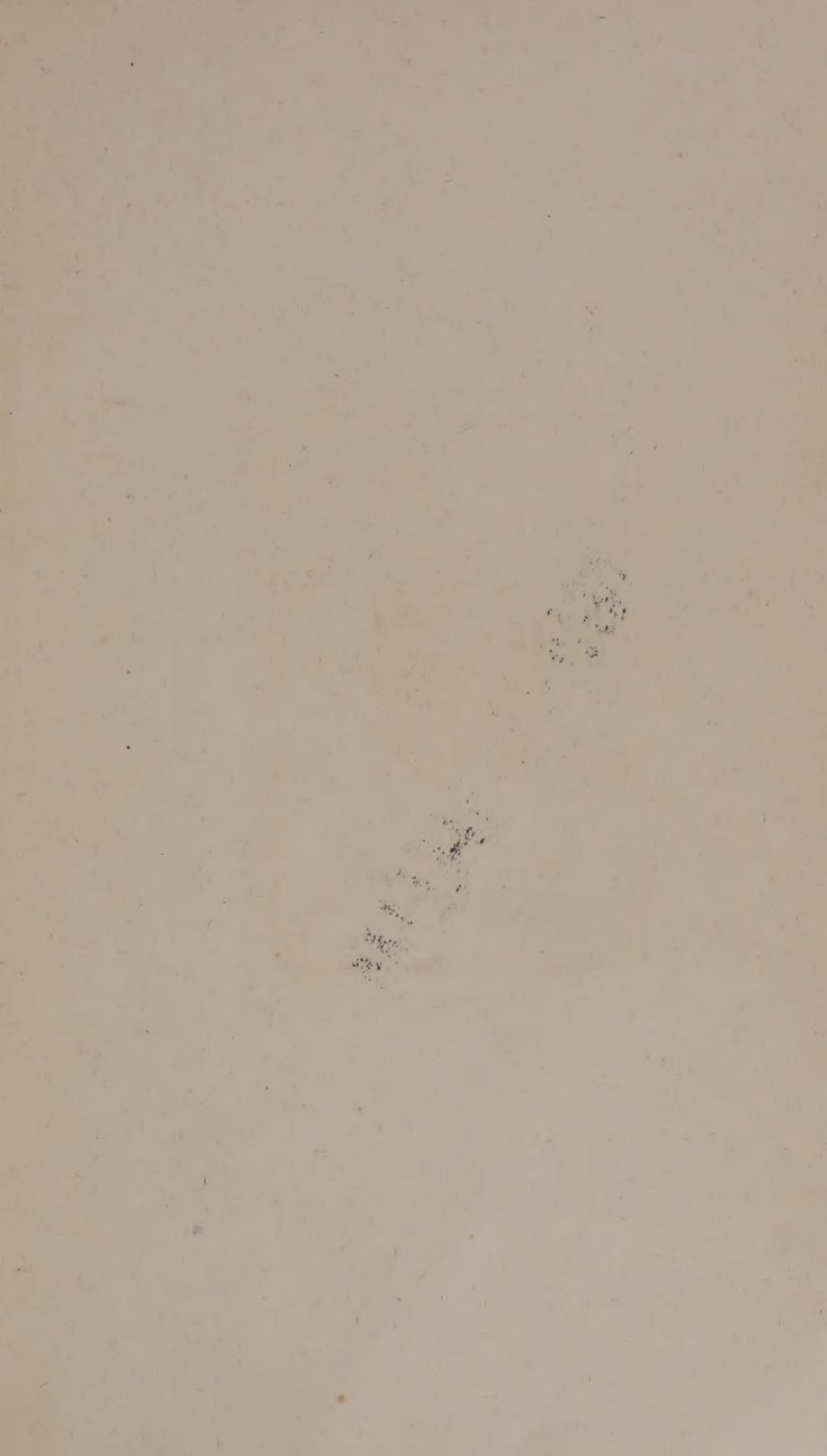


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HISPANIC-AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES

BY

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

Among the things desired by all patriotic Americans, north or south, are a better acquaintance with one another and more intimate relations. Our people need to be better acquainted with our neighbors in Central and South America and they with us. This is desirable not only for reasons of mutual economic benefit, but in the interest of international peace, in the interest of the influence of the American continent on world affairs, and in the interest of securing that advantage which comes from the reaction of the culture of one people on another. Most that has been written and said about developing our relations with South America has referred to trade matters, but there is much more than trade to be benefited by better mutual knowledge and closer relations. It is astonishing how few of our people are aware that in the countries to the south of us are great literatures, long established civilizations, cultures of great peoples, which in some respects may fairly be said to be superior to our own. A wider knowledge of the literature and the social life of our South American friends would react favorably on us. A better knowledge on their part of our character and mode of life would be good for them.

For these reasons this volume by Professor Robertson on *Hispanic-American Relations with the United States* is a valuable and welcome contribution from the press of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to the literature of the subject. Professor Robertson's standing as a historian insures a scholarly treatment of his topic, and his life-long interest in Hispanic-American matters insures a full knowledge of the subject. His treatment is at once ample and interesting, and the volume will appeal to the ordinary reader as well as to the scholar.

DAVID KINLEY.

URBANA, ILLINOIS,
January 24, 1923.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

When, upon the eve of my departure on leave of absence from the University of Illinois for a year of travel and study in South America, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace asked me to make an investigation of relations between the United States and the nations of Latin America, I gladly undertook the large task. I am indebted to President David Kinley of the University of Illinois, at that time a member of the Committee of Research of the Carnegie Endowment, for the invitation to investigate that subject, for letters of introduction to friends in South America, and for helpful suggestions about the plan and form of this volume. For letters of introduction I am also indebted to President Emeritus Edmund J. James of the University of Illinois, to Mr. John Barrett, formerly Director General of the Pan American Union, and to Professor Leo S. Rowe, now Director General of the Pan-American Union.

A few explanations should be made about certain problems of definition and terminology. The term "Latin America" has often been used by writers to include those countries in the New World that were colonized by people from the so-called "Latin" nations of Europe. It would thus naturally include New France and the French colonies in the West Indies, as well as Spanish and Portuguese America. In recent years a custom has been growing in the United States, however, to confine the term Latin America to those regions in the New World which were colonized by Spain and Portugal. When I undertook to write this book, the people of the United States ordinarily designated the states of Spanish or Portuguese derivation in America as the Latin-American nations. During the last few years, however, a marked tendency has been shown by students of history in the United States to apply the term Hispanic-American to the nations of Spanish and Portuguese origin in the New World.

That term has been used in this book. As the residents of Hispanic America have as much right to consider themselves Americans as have citizens of the United States, I have aimed to refrain from using the term Americans exclusively for my fellow countrymen. The construction of the book presented some problems of no small difficulty; as finally composed, it may be designated as a series of studies about relations between the United States and the Hispanic-American nations. This volume was practically completed in December, 1919; its substantial size and the increased cost of publication have since precluded any attempt to bring the topics discussed in it any farther than was possible from the data available at that time. None of the topics considered in this volume are brought beyond the conclusion of the World War. Fortunately the Panama affair has recently been settled by the ratification by the United States and Colombia of the slightly modified Thompson-Urrutia Treaty.

While gathering material for this volume, I received courteous assistance from many persons in America, North and South. Professor Eugene C. Barker of the University of Texas allowed me access to the inedited Austin Papers; Dr. James A. Robertson of the United States Department of Commerce and Dr. W. R. Manning of the United States Department of State furnished me with manuscript data concerning the appointment of some United States consuls; and Señor Manuel Gondra of Paraguay gave me the privilege of examining the inedited manuscripts of Fernando de la Mora at Asunción. For courtesies extended to me during my investigations, I was also indebted to the National Libraries of Brazil, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Chile, Paraguay, and Argentina, as well as to the Mitre Museum at Buenos Aires. Among the officials of those libraries I was especially grateful to Señor Rómulo Zabala of the Mitre Museum; to Señor Manuel S. Sánchez, Director of the National Library at Carácas; to Señor Carlos Silva Cruz, Director of the National Library at Santiago de Chile; and to Senhor Peregrino Cicero da Silva, now Brazilian Minister of Public Instruction. I must also acknowledge the courtesy of the

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

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University of Illinois Library staff, for the Hispanic-American collection which is housed in that library has been very useful to me in the preparation of this volume.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

URBANA, ILLINOIS,

May 29, 1922.

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HISPANIC-AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

THE AGE OF TRANSITION IN HISPANIC AMERICA

The racial elements in Hispanic America—The organs of colonial administration in the Spanish Indies—Commercial and immigratory policy—The Church—The Inquisition—Philosophy of Revolution—The administration of Brazil—Portuguese colonial policy—The Portuguese-Spanish boundary in South America—Napoleon's usurpations in Portugal and Spain—The Spanish *juntas*—The Separatist movements—The Mexican Revolution—The independence of Venezuela—Bolívar at Boyacá and Carabobo—Pichincha—The independence of Paraguay and Uruguay—San Martín at San Lorenzo—Chacabuco—Maipú—Peruvian independence proclaimed—Ayacucho—The Spanish-American nations—The separation of Brazil from Portugal—Boundaries of the Hispanic-American states.

After the discovery of the New World there flowed to America two distinct currents of emigration from the Iberian Peninsula. A current from Portugal went to the eastern portion of South America—that vast domain which was eventually designated Brazil—while a current from Spain proceeded to the extensive territories in America which stretched from Cape Horn to California. The Portuguese settled along the coast of Brazil, where conditions favored the development of colonies of the plantation type. The conquering Spaniards planted colonies upon the ruins of the most advanced aboriginal civilizations: in Mexico, which had been under the sway of the Aztecs; in New Granada where the Chibchas had flourished; and in Peru, the seat of the extensive empire of the Incas.

In some parts of America the Portuguese and the Spaniards soon began to use the aborigines as slaves upon the plantations or in the silver mines. Against the enslavement of the Indians some humane colonists raised their voices in protest. Responding to the anti-slavery propaganda of Antonio Vieira, the Portuguese Jesuit, and of Bartolomé de las Casas, the Franciscan monk, the governments of Spain and Portugal tried by protective laws to check or to prohibit the enslavement of the Indians.

It is difficult to ascertain the extent to which those laws shielded the aborigines; but it is clear that the agitation against Indian slavery was partly responsible for the spread in Hispanic America of negro slavery. Negroes were brought from Africa to the Indies in the sixteenth century to replace the aborigines as laborers on the plantations. Negro slavery gradually spread over certain parts of South America. As the negroes, who were occasionally emancipated, sometimes intermingled with the lower classes another element was thus added to the population. European emigrants and their descendants kept distinct from the other races in some portions of Hispanic America, but elsewhere an admixture of whites, negroes, and Indians took place which produced many varieties of man.

Let us notice briefly the organs of colonial administration which developed in the Spanish Empire. To replace the *conquistadores* the Spanish monarch sent to the Indies officials who were denominated governors, captains general, or viceroys. By a series of royal decrees the Spanish dominions in the New World were divided into administrative areas, the most important of which were the presidencies, the captaincies general, and the viceroyalties.¹

The viceroys—who were in charge of the districts designated as viceroyalties—were the most important agents of the Spanish king. In 1777 there were four viceroys in America. A viceroy in the city of Mexico controlled the viceroyalty of New Spain; one who resided at Bogotá was in charge of the north-western part of South America, which formed the viceroyalty of New Granada; another viceroy in Buenos Aires directed south-eastern South America, which was included within the viceroyalty of la Plata; and another in Lima administered a large portion of western South America, the viceroyalty of Peru.

Captains general controlled areas which were smaller than viceroyalties. Residing at Habana was the captain general of Cuba, who was in charge of the Spanish West Indies and also of Florida. At the city of Guatemala was located the captain

¹ Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics as Told in the Lives of their Liberators*, pp. 3-8.

general of Guatemala, who controlled the region known as Central America. The captain general of Venezuela was in charge of the northeastern section of Spanish America with his capital at Caracas. At Santiago was the captain general of Chile, who was in charge of a long, narrow strip of land which stretched along the Pacific coast southward from the desert of Atacama to Cape Horn. By the end of the eighteenth century those captains general had been released from the control of the viceroys.²

Presidencies were areas which were placed under the direction of officials who were designated presidents because, like viceroys and captains general, they sometimes presided over the meetings of the administrative and judicial councils which were known as *audiencias*. In 1778 there were presidents at Guadalajara, Quito, Cuzco, and Chuquisaca—the last mentioned city being the seat of the *audiencia* of Charcas. Although the *audiencias* located in those cities were under the jurisdiction of their respective viceroys, yet they were vested with governmental authority in certain affairs. Especially was this true of the presidencies of Quito and Charcas which were in a more or less semi-independent position respectively with regard to the vice-royalties of New Granada and la Plata. It was within the lines which were more or less vaguely traced by the boundaries of the presidencies, captaincies general, and vice-royalties that independent nations were later formed.³

The laws and regulations for the administration of Spanish America, which were commonly designated the "Laws of the Indies," were framed at Madrid by the Council of the Indies,—a council presided over by the king in whom was vested the title to the colonies. In this council the colonists, as such, had no representation. Except in so far as the transplanted Spanish *cabildo* (town council) was occasionally enlarged by the addition of other citizens to form a *cabildo abierto* (open council) for the discussion of important problems, the Spanish system of colonial administration made no provision for the exercise of local

² Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics*, pp. 3-6.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

self-government.⁴ Again, there were no institutions in Spanish America which corresponded to the colonial legislatures in British America. Further, at the opening of the nineteenth century the practice of occasionally convoking a colonial *cortes*, or congress, for a portion of Spanish America had fallen into disuse. It should therefore be clear that there was in Spanish America an almost total lack of institutions which might furnish the colonists training in self-government.

For a long period the commercial policy of Spain toward her colonies was animated by a spirit of monopoly and paternalism. Agents of the Spanish crown in the Indies were directed to take measures to discourage the production or manufacture of articles which might compete with the products of Spain. The privilege of trading with the Spanish colonies was for many decades restricted to the merchants of Seville or Cadiz. In the middle of the eighteenth century direct trade might legally be carried on only between a few ports in Spanish America and certain ports in Spain. On October 12, 1778, however, an important law was promulgated which radically modified the commercial regulations that had prevailed in the Spanish colonial system. That reform law permitted other ports in Spain to trade directly with the Spanish Indies. Similarly it opened several ports in the Indies to Spanish trade. But this law still aimed to encourage the Spanish shipbuilder and shipowner by providing that vessels used in the trade with America should be Spanish built and Spanish owned.⁵ By subsequent laws the privilege to engage in direct trade with the Indies was extended to additional ports in Spain and other ports in the Indies were opened to that trade. In 1797 a royal decree was issued providing that neutral vessels might engage in the carrying trade with the Spanish colonies.⁶ However, the Spanish Government still adhered to the policy of a protective tariff which was designed to favor the manufacturers and merchants of Spain at the expense of her colonists and of foreigners.⁷

⁴ *Recopilación de leyes de los reinos de las Indias*, libro 4, título 10, ley 1; Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics*, *passim*.

⁵ *Documentos para la historia argentina*, vol. vi, pp. 12-128.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. vii, p. 134.

⁷ Pons, *Travels in South America*, vol. ii, pp. 23-25.

There is little evidence available concerning emigration or immigration to Spanish America. However, frequent mention of foreigners in regulations concerning the Indies indicates that, in spite of repeated prohibitions, they occasionally ventured into those extensive dominions. On the eve of the revolution aliens were allowed to reside in Spanish America upon the payment of a tax, but they were subjected to many restrictions and viewed with great suspicion.⁸ Undoubtedly certain residents of the Indies took advantage of the laws and customs permitting the naturalization of foreigners; for a naturalized citizen of Spain was ordinarily allowed in the Indies the rights and privileges of a natural-born citizen. But, according to the Laws of the Indies, a native Spaniard might only embark for Spanish America when granted a license and after presenting evidence that he was an orthodox Catholic.⁹ So many vexatious restrictions were enacted concerning emigration that the number of colonists who proceeded from Spain to the Indies was small. At the opening of the nineteenth century François de Pons, an observant Frenchman who resided some years at Caracas, estimated that the number of Spaniards who annually emigrated to the captaincy general of Venezuela was not more than one hundred.¹⁰

By various regulations Spain attempted to prevent foreigners from engaging in commerce with her colonies. Originally the Spanish Government restricted the privilege of trading with the Indies to natives of Castile. Even after Aragonese and Navarrese were admitted to this privilege that government rigorously prohibited the citizens of other nations from engaging in commerce with its American colonies without a license. The restrictive laws were not always faithfully observed; for a royal order prohibited foreigners who might have been licensed to trade in colonial ports from proceeding with their merchandise into the interior of Spanish America.¹¹ In 1776 the king issued an order recapitulating previous orders to Spanish officials in

⁸ *Recopilación*, libro 9, título 27, ley 31; *Novísima recopilación de las leyes de España*, libro 6, título 11, leyes 2 and 3.

⁹ *Recopilación*, libro 9, título 26, leyes 1 and 16.

¹⁰ Pons, vol. I, p. 112. See further Lannoy and Linden, *Histoire de l'expansion coloniale des peuples européens*, pp. 155, 156, 370-78.

¹¹ *Recopilación*, libro 9, título 27, ley 4.

the Indies about aliens and providing that no foreigners of whatever character should be permitted to reside in Spanish America upon any pretext or to trade with its inhabitants without a royal license. This order further provided that unlicensed foreigners should be immediately deported from Spanish America.¹² But those prohibitions and restrictions were evaded in various ways. English merchants abused the *asiento* clause of the Treaty of Utrecht which granted them the privilege of sending annually to Spanish America one vessel of five hundred tons laden with goods.¹³ The English colonies in the West Indies became the entrepôts of smugglers who traded with the adjacent Spanish colonies. Despite prohibitory laws, as early as 1787, vessels from the United States were engaged in commerce with the Spanish West Indies.¹⁴ Still, in 1807 the king of Spain issued an order strictly prohibiting the admission of foreign consuls into Spanish-American ports.¹⁵

In the Spanish dominions the church establishment clearly revealed the dominant authority of the monarch. The Pope could communicate directly with the Indies only in special cases. Bulls, dispensations, and indulgences might ordinarily be sent to the American colonies only after being approved by the Council of the Indies. A share of the revenues of the church regularly belonged to the Spanish crown. Ecclesiastical as well as civil appointments emanated directly from the king: all questions concerning the patronage were decided by the Council of the Indies. Church courts took cognizance of cases concerning spiritual matters and also those dealing with legacies, wills, and marriages.

The religious zeal which the Spaniard had developed during the long crusade against the Moslems was applied in the New World to the conversion of the aborigines. Large numbers of secular and regular clergy were scattered throughout the Indies. There such orders as the Capuchins and the Franciscans were mainly engaged in converting and civilizing the Indians. Mem-

¹² *Documentos para la historia argentina*, vol. v, p. 375.

¹³ Scelle, *La traité négrière aux Indes de Castille*, vol. II, p. 553.

¹⁴ Channing, *A History of the United States*, vol. II, p. 422, n. 1.

¹⁵ *Documentos para la historia argentina*, vol. VII, p. 364.

bers of the clergy played an important part in the educational life of Spanish America. Churches, convents, and monasteries came into the possession of extensive landed properties.¹⁶ The only religion that was tolerated in Spanish America was Roman Catholicism.

The church in the Indies was eventually reenforced by the Inquisition. At the opening of the nineteenth century there were tribunals of the Holy Office at Lima, Cartagena, and the city of Mexico. In Spanish America the Inquisition devoted considerable attention to the suppression of sorcery, witchcraft, bigamy, blasphemy, and heresy. Of heretics, however, there were few: apostate friars, Jews, and Protestants were rarely mentioned in the records of the Inquisition in the Spanish dependencies. The influence of the Inquisition upon the Roman Catholic faith in Spanish America was evidently very slight. There its main political significance was in the fact that it sometimes engaged in quarrels with secular officials and often exercised a restrictive influence upon intellectual development.¹⁷

During the colonial regime books could ordinarily be printed in the Spanish Indies only by consent of the government. About the middle of the sixteenth century a law was enacted providing that colonial officials should not permit the publication or sale of any book concerning Spanish America without a special license from the Council of the Indies. This law prohibited publishers or booksellers from surreptitiously printing or selling such books under penalty of a fine and the confiscation of the printing press.¹⁸ Apparently Protestant writings found their way to the Spanish colonial possessions; for in the sixteenth century a law was enacted providing that civil and ecclesiastical officials in the Indies should seize the heretical books which might have been introduced by pirates.¹⁹ In the latter part of the eighteenth century the University of San Marcos in Lima was warned that not even the panegyrics ordinarily de-

¹⁶ Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America," in *American Historical Association Report*, 1907, vol. I, pp. 216-17.

¹⁷ Lea, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*, pp. 452, 511-13.

¹⁸ *Recopilación*, libro 1, título 24, ley 1.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, libro 1, título 24, ley 14.

livered before the viceroys might be printed without the examination and license of the government.²⁰

After tribunals of the Inquisition were established in America, the censorship of the press became a special function of the Holy Office. The Inquisition regularly published edicts that prohibited the importation of particular books. It strove to prevent the circulation of literature which might be inimical to the existing regime.²¹ Pons stated that certain volumes could circulate only when expurgated, other volumes might be read only on permission, while some were absolutely proscribed. In a list of books which that author mentioned as being prohibited in South America about 1804 are found works of Voltaire, Rousseau, Raynal, Montesquieu, Diderot, Helvetius, Hume, Addison, and DeFoe.²²

Although the efforts of the Inquisition were seconded by the civil authorities, yet seditious literature found its way into Spanish America. In 1809 the mattress of Camilo Henríquez, a Peruvian priest, was found to be stuffed with prohibited books.²³ A French traveler named Count Ségur stated that in Venezuela a physician led him to the most secluded part of his house, where he showed him in concealment the works of Raynal and Rousseau.²⁴ Antonio Nariño, an enterprising scholar of New Granada, translated the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme* into Spanish and printed it at Bogotá. That translation was circulated clandestinely in northern South America.²⁵ Some Spanish colonists thus became acquainted with the philosophy of the French Revolution. Through the perusal of such writers as Raynal, certain Spanish-American leaders acquired a knowledge of doctrines which had been cherished by men who participated in the Revolution of the English colonies in North America.

The political regime in colonial Brazil resembled somewhat the administration of the Spanish colonies. At the opening of

²⁰ Fuente, *Memorias de los virreyes que han gobernado el Perú durante el tiempo del coloniaje español*, vol. v, pp. 85, 86.

²¹ Lea, pp. 470-72.

²² Pons, vol. I, pp. 318-25.

²³ Lea, p. 446.

²⁴ Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda," *loc. cit.*, 1907, vol. I, p. 223.

²⁵ Posada and Ibáñez, *El precursor*, pp. xii, xiii, 63-65; Blanco, *Documentos para la historia de la vida pública del libertador de Colombia, Perú y Bolivia*, vol. I, p. 287.

the nineteenth century the most important administrative official in Brazil was the viceroy, who resided at Rio de Janeiro. This colony was divided into captaincies which were in charge of captains general and minor officials. Viceroy and captains general were under the control of the government at Lisbon. In their respective subdivisions those officials directed administrative affairs; and they presided over various tribunals of justice and finance. They also supervised the partition of lands and were in charge of the military forces.²⁶ The rules and regulations for the administration of Brazil were formulated by the Portuguese Council seated at Lisbon. That council also carried on the correspondence with colonial officials.²⁷ The defect which we noticed in the political organization of the Spanish Indies also existed to a considerable extent in Brazil: with the exception of the town councils, there were no Brazilian institutions which might furnish the colonists with proper training in the art of self-government.

Toward Brazil the motherland pursued a policy of monopoly and paternalism. The Portuguese Government tried to encourage the culture of indigo, rice, and sugar in Brazil, while it restricted the marketing of sugar, tobacco, and wheat. It prohibited the cultivation of the grapevine and aimed to permit no manufactures except coarse linens and cottons.²⁸ Portugal's policy with respect to emigration into her colonies was perhaps hardly as restrictive as that of Spain; but apparently few foreigners settled in Portuguese America. Emancipated negroes and their descendants, however, composed a large part of the population. Considerable admixture took place between the colored people and Europeans of the lower classes. The tendency in Brazil was toward the formation of a new type of mankind.²⁹

Agents of the Portuguese Inquisition did not play a conspicuous rôle in the annals of Brazil.³⁰ Still the Portuguese Government did not pursue a liberal policy with regard to the press.

²⁶ Pereira da Silva, *Historia da fundação do imperio brasileiro*, vol. I, pp. 98-100.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 65; Lannoy and Linden, pp. 85, 86.

²⁸ Lannoy and Linden, pp. 160-65.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 152-56, 180, 181.

³⁰ Pereira da Silva, vol. I, pp. 66, 140.

Although, about the middle of the eighteenth century, a printing press was established in Rio de Janeiro which published books or pamphlets that occasionally bore the impress of Lisbon or Madrid, yet that press was soon suppressed by the absolute government of Portugal. Not until the flight of the Braganza dynasty to Rio de Janeiro was a press permanently established in that capital. From this court press there soon appeared books, brochures, and pamphlets. In September, 1808, there was printed upon it the first number of the *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*. At that time, however, censors were appointed to examine works which were intended for publication.³¹ This narrow policy apparently led to the rigid inspection of certain vessels which arrived at Brazilian ports, in order to prevent the introduction of objectionable literature.³²

The boundaries between the dominions of Spain and Portugal in the New World were originally based upon the Treaty of Tordesillas of June 7, 1494, which superseded the famous bulls of Pope Alexander VI. This treaty provided that a straight line should be drawn from the Arctic Pole to the Antarctic Pole three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands: the territories discovered east of that line should belong to Portugal, while the territories discovered west of that line should be the property of Spain. On January 13, 1750, a treaty was signed at Madrid between Spain and Portugal which sketched a new demarcation line between the territories of those two nations in America and which recognized the right of Portugal to a vast extent of territory west of the line drawn by the Treaty of Tordesillas. The Treaty of Madrid stipulated that the contracting powers should select commissioners to survey the boundary line.³³ Shortly afterwards the two governments selected commissioners, who encountered great difficulties, however, in surveying the boundary.³⁴ Partly because of those difficulties, on February 12, 1761, another treaty

³¹ Veríssimo de Mattos, "A instrucção e a imprensa, 1500-1900," in *Livro do centenario*, vol. I, pt. IV, pp. 31-37.

³² Oliveira Lima, *Dom João VI no Brasil*, vol. I, pp. 198, 199.

³³ Calvo, *Recueil historique complet des traités, conventions, capitulations, armistices et autres actes diplomatiques de tous les états de l'Amérique Latine*, vol. II, pp. 244-60.

³⁴ Southey, *History of Brazil*, vol. III, pp. 450, 501-3.

of limits was signed between Spain and Portugal,—a treaty which annulled completely the Treaty of Madrid and all adjustments arising therefrom.³⁵

On October 1, 1777, a new treaty of limits between Spain and Portugal was signed at San Ildefonso. Twenty articles of the Treaty of San Ildefonso contained provisions which attempted to specify, more or less exactly, the boundaries between the South American colonies of the contracting parties. That treaty drew boundary lines between the American dominions of Spain and Portugal with considerable attention to their frontier settlements. To the west the boundary followed, in the main, the line that had been sketched by the Treaty of Madrid. Stipulations were made for the choice of commissioners who should determine the boundaries exactly and prepare a map of the frontiers.³⁶ Those boundary lines, however, were not definitely surveyed.

Although there were crying economic and political evils in Hispanic America during the colonial regime, yet the immediate cause for the separation of the Spanish-American colonies from the motherland was the usurpation of the French Emperor in Spain. Influenced by the desire to isolate England from the European continent and to close the ports of that continent to her merchandise, Napoleon undertook a policy of intervention in the affairs of the Iberian Peninsula.

A clause in the Treaty of Fontainebleau, which was framed by diplomats of France and Spain in 1807, stipulated that Napoleon's soldiers should be allowed to march freely to the frontiers of Portugal. To escape those soldiers, in November, 1807, the Portuguese dynasty of Braganza sailed from Lisbon for Rio de Janeiro, escorted by an English squadron. Shameful intrigues at the court of Madrid furnished the French Emperor with a plausible pretext for intervention in Spanish affairs. Early in 1808 French soldiers took possession of Pamplona. Soon afterwards Napoleon appointed his brother-in-law, the dashing cavalry commander, Joachim Murat, his lieutenant in Spain.

³⁵ Calvo, *Recueil historique complet des traités*, vol. II, pp. 349–55.
³⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 128–67.

On March 19 Charles IV abdicated the Spanish crown in favor of his eldest son and heir, Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias.

On the following day Ferdinand announced to Murat that he had received the Spanish crown from his father; and he expressed an ardent wish to strengthen the bonds that connected France and Spain. But Murat—who entered Madrid with a French army on March 23—did not recognize King Ferdinand. Even though the ex-king soon asserted that his abdication was null, yet the Council of the Indies addressed to the viceroys, presidents, *audiencias*, governors, and cities of Spanish America a communication declaring that the Spanish crown had been transferred to Ferdinand VII.³⁷

Napoleon thwarted that policy. After luring Charles and Ferdinand to Bayonne on May 5 the French Emperor induced the ex-king to renounce by treaty his right to the throne of Spain. This treaty was soon embodied in a decree by which Charles formally announced that he had ceded to Napoleon his sovereignty over the Spanish dominions and by which he ordered officials and corporations in those dominions to obey the French Emperor.³⁸ On his part Ferdinand agreed to a convention which declared that he endorsed his father's act of renunciation in favor of Napoleon, and that he relinquished his rights as heir to the Spanish crown. On May 20 the Council of the Indies dispatched to important civil and ecclesiastical officials in the Spanish Indies documents transmitting the news of the renunciation of the crown of Spain and the Indies by Charles IV and Ferdinand VII.³⁹

Meantime Napoleon convoked a general deputation of Spaniards at Bayonne. He issued a decree proclaiming his brother Joseph king of Spain and the Indies; and when the Spanish deputies assembled at Bayonne, they acknowledged Joseph as their king. They adopted, with a few changes, a Napoleonic statute as the Constitution for their nation. By various measures the French Emperor and his agents transmitted to Spanish

³⁷ Blanco, vol. II, pp. 126, 127.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 144, 145.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 144.

America the news of the dynastic change in Spain.⁴⁰ But in the Indies, as well as in Spain, this startling news provoked movements which were destined to alter the face of politics.

Reports of the deposition of King Ferdinand precipitated the formation in Spain of local *juntas* (councils) which assumed the functions of government. A few of those *juntas* soon essayed to send to the Indies the news of their opposition to French usurpations. Reports and rumors of the startling events which were taking place in the Iberian Peninsula had significant results in the New World. Manifestations of loyalty to Ferdinand VII, coupled with denunciations of Napoleon, were made in some parts of the Spanish Indies.⁴¹ In certain cities the news of the establishment of *juntas* in Spain stimulated some colonists to emulate that example.⁴² On July 28 the *cabildo* of the city of Caracas presented an address to the captain general asking that a *junta* should be established there similar to the *junta* at Seville.⁴³ In the city of Mexico a learned monk named Melchor Talaman-tes urged that the deposition of Ferdinand VII had destroyed the link which connected Spain and the Indies,—⁴⁴ an argument which was voiced by other Spanish Americans who aspired to independence.⁴⁵ It is evident that the revolutionary tinder which lay scattered throughout the vast dominions of Spain in America was lighted by Napoleon's hand.

The series of movements which culminated in the independence of the Spanish continental colonies in America from the motherland took form in 1810. On April 19—incited by the news that the central *junta* which had been established in Spain had transferred its authority to a regency—an extraordinary *cabildo* in Caracas quietly deposed the captain general and established a *junta* to act on behalf of Ferdinand VII.⁴⁶ This pro-

⁴⁰ Robertson, "The Juntas of 1808 and the Spanish Colonies," in the *English Historical Review*, vol. XXXI, pp. 573-75.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 578, 581-84.

⁴² Blanco, vol. II, pp. 171-74; García, *Documentos históricos mexicanos*, vol. II, pp. 104, 105.

⁴³ Blanco, vol. II, p. 171.

⁴⁴ García, *Documentos históricos mexicanos*, vol. VII, pp. 393, 394.

⁴⁵ Amunátegui, *Vida de don Andrés Bello*, p. 83; *Gaceta de Buenos Aires*, December 6, 1810.

⁴⁶ Blanco, vol. II, pp. 391, 407, 408.

visional government soon issued a manifesto audaciously disavowing the authority of the Spanish regency.⁴⁷ In reality the creation of this government in Venezuela was a revolution in disguise.

The revolutionary leaven soon produced a ferment in other parts of Spanish America. On May 25, 1810, in the city of Buenos Aires the viceroy was peacefully replaced by a provisional *junta*.⁴⁸ A similar *junta* was established on July 20 of the same year at Bogotá.⁴⁹ An audacious and versatile curate, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, on September 16, 1810, started a revolt at Dolores against the rule of Spain in the extensive vice-royalty of Mexico.⁵⁰ Two days later, in the city of Santiago, the captain general of Chile was replaced by a *junta* which loudly proclaimed its allegiance to the deposed monarch.⁵¹ In each of those movements protests of loyalty were made to King Ferdinand VII. Nevertheless it appears that in every insurrectionary region there were daring spirits who dreamed of independence.

Let us first notice how the Spanish colonists in North America eventually separated themselves from the motherland. To the revolutionary standard which was raised at Dolores by Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla there flocked a large number of Mexicans who belonged mainly to the lower classes. Under the leadership of Hidalgo, the revolutionists sacked Guanajuato, captured Valladolid, and defeated a small force of royalist soldiers near Mexico City. But Hidalgo's revolt encountered the sturdy opposition of many persons belonging to the upper classes. Further, the viceroy, Francisco Javier Venegas, ordered the royalist commander, Félix María Calleja, to suppress the revolution. At Aculco on November 6, 1810, Calleja defeated Hidalgo. At the bridge of Calderón on January 17, 1811, Spanish soldiers overwhelmingly defeated the revolutionists; and

⁴⁷ Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda," *loc. cit.*, 1907, vol. i, pp. 429, 430.

⁴⁸ *Días de Mayo, actas del cabildo de Buenos Aires, 1810; Registro oficial de la república argentina*, vol. i, pp. 22-24.

⁴⁹ Posada, *El 20 de Julio*, pp. 159-66.

⁵⁰ García, *Documentos históricos mexicanos*, vol. vi, pp. 11, 12, 527-29.

⁵¹ *Colección de historiadores y de documentos relativos á la independencia de Chile*, vol. i, p. 7; Vicuña Mackenna, *Historia general de la república de Chile desde su independencia hasta nuestros días*, vol. i, pp. 203-8, 246-48.

soon afterwards Hidalgo and other revolutionists were captured, tried, and executed by the royalists.⁵²

Even after Hidalgo's ignominious death some of the revolutionary embers still continued to burn. José María Morelos led the revolutionists in brilliant campaigns against the royalists. Under his inspiration, on November 6, 1813, a congress at Chilpancingo framed a Declaration of Independence from Spain.⁵³ On October 22, 1814, at Apatzingan the Mexican congress adopted a provisional Constitution.⁵⁴ But, about a year after that Constitution was promulgated, Morelos was captured by royalist soldiers, summarily tried, condemned, and executed. The prestige of the Mexican revolutionists consequently declined, and some of their leaders accepted pardon from the restored Spanish king.

Strange though it may seem, the independence of Mexico from Spain was ultimately consummated through a revolution which was almost bloodless. In the end of 1820, when only one prominent Mexican, Vicente Guerrero, held aloft the revolutionary banner, the viceroy of Mexico, Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, entrusted the soldiers operating against Guerrero to Colonel Agustín de Iturbide, a valiant royalist commander, who in 1816 had been removed from his command. Instead of subjugating Guerrero, however, Iturbide soon entered into an agreement with that revolutionary leader. That agreement was the Plan of Iguala, which was published by Iturbide at Iguala on February 24, 1821—a plan that included both a proclamation of independence from Spain and a rudimentary constitution for the Mexican state. This unique plan has sometimes been designated as the plan of the three guarantees because it proclaimed the independence of Mexico from Spain, adherence to the Roman Catholic religion, and the abolition of caste distinctions.⁵⁵ A sagacious plan which provided that Mexico should be ruled by a

⁵² As a history of the Spanish-American revolution is found in Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics*, the writer will equip this account with references only on points of outstanding importance.

⁵³ Bustamante, *Cuadro histórico de la revolución mexicana*, vol. II, pp. 406, 407.

⁵⁴ Hernández y Dávalos, *Colección de documentos para la historia de la guerra de independencia de México de 1808 á 1821*, vol. V, pp. 700-20.

⁵⁵ [Rocafuerte], *Bosquejo ligerísimo de la revolución de Méjico*, pp. 66-71.

scion of the Spanish dynasty,—it soon won the adherence of revolutionists and royalists, priests and peons throughout the viceroyalty. The hapless viceroy was deposed by a mutiny of his own troops. His successor, Juan O'Donojú, arrived in Mexico with a small company to find Iturbide triumphant; and on August 24 he signed a treaty with the revolutionary leader at Córdoba—a treaty which embodied the main provisions of the Plan of Iguala.⁵⁶ Iturbide led his victorious army into Mexico City on September 27, 1821. Upon the following day a *junta* signed an act which proclaimed the independence of the Mexican empire.⁵⁷ After news was received that the Spanish Government had refused to sanction the Treaty of Córdoba, on May 19, 1822, the Mexican congress proclaimed Iturbide as constitutional emperor of Mexico with the title of Agustín I.⁵⁸

The successful revolution in Mexico had a profound influence upon the neighboring captaincy general of Guatemala. In September, 1821, a *junta* which had been convoked by the captain general in the city of Guatemala declared that there was a general desire that Guatemala should be proclaimed independent. A Mexican military force was sent into Central America, and subsequently Agustín I was proclaimed emperor there. In 1822 Agustín thus became the titular ruler over a vast empire.

From the revolutionary movement in South America there can not be separated the name of Francisco de Miranda. A native of Caracas who had frequently tried to promote the cause of Spanish-American independence at the court of London, he returned to Venezuela soon after the *junta* at Caracas, as has been indicated, had taken the first step toward independence from Spain. It was largely as a result of the arguments of Miranda, who was a member of the revolutionary congress, that delegates from the provinces of the captaincy general of Venezuela who had assembled at Caracas adopted a Declaration of Independence from Spain on July 5, 1811. After some discussion, a constituent congress at Caracas, on December 21, 1811,

⁵⁶ *Tratados y convenciones concluidos y ratificados por la república mexicana*, vol. I, pp. 284-93.

⁵⁷ Bustamante, vol. V, pp. 333, 334.

⁵⁸ [Rocafuerte]. *Bosquejo ligerísimo*, p. 232.

adopted a Constitution for the Venezuelan republic. But, during the following year,—largely as the result of an earthquake which dispirited the patriots and encouraged the royalists—General Miranda, who had been made dictator of Venezuela, capitulated to the royalist commander, Domingo Monteverde. The captaincy general of Venezuela again fell under the sway of Spain, Miranda was betrayed to the Spaniards, and eventually died in a Spanish dungeon.⁵⁹

But the crusade for liberty in northern South America found an implacable leader in Simón Bolívar. After Miranda's downfall Bolívar fled to the West Indies and soon joined the revolutionists in the viceroyalty of New Granada. There the revolutionary movement had already started; for on November 11, 1811, the province of Cartagena in that viceroyalty had adopted a Declaration of Independence from Spain.⁶⁰ Early in 1813 Bolívar entered the service of the revolutionary *junta* which was established at Cartagena. In a short time he became the energetic and masterful commander of the revolutionary soldiers. Despite enormous physical obstacles, bitter disappointments, and several bloody defeats by the Spaniards, after years of heroic struggle Bolívar succeeded in expelling the royalists from Venezuela and New Granada. In a battle at the bridge of Boyacá on an elevated plateau in New Granada, on August 7, 1819, the soldiers of Bolívar decisively defeated the Spanish forces under General Barreiro—a victory which virtually completed the liberation of the viceroyalty of New Granada from Spanish rule. At the head of an army recruited in New Granada and Venezuela, on June 24, 1821, Bolívar overwhelmingly defeated the royalist soldiers under General La Torre upon the plains of Carabobo:—that victory ensured the independence from Spain of northern South America. Shortly after the victory at Carabobo a congress of delegates from the former viceroyalty of New Granada and the former captaincy general of Venezuela that had assembled at Cúcuta passed a “fundamental law of union” which announced that those two regions were

⁵⁹ Robertson, “Francisco de Miranda,” *loc. cit.*, 1907, vol. I, chaps. 12, 13, 14.

⁶⁰ Blanco, vol. III, p. 360.

united into the republic of Colombia.⁶¹ In August, 1821, this congress adopted a constitution for the new republic. That republic, whose capital was at Bogotá, has often been designated "Great Colombia."⁶²

Some statesmen of Great Colombia wished to promote the liberation of the presidency of Quito, which in colonial days had partly depended upon the viceroy at Bogotá. To promote the independence of that presidency Bolívar sent there a capable Venezuelan commander, General Antonio José de Sucre. On May 24, 1822, General Sucre defeated the royalist army under General Aymerich in the battle of Pichincha. In consequence the Spaniards agreed to evacuate the presidency of Quito. A short time after Bolívar entered the city of Quito he proclaimed that the presidency was annexed to Colombia.

Let us now turn to the viceroyalty of la Plata to notice the progress of the revolution which ultimately merged with the revolutionary movement that had swept southward from Colombia. The provisional *junta* which was established in 1810 in the city of Buenos Aires vainly tried to extend its authority over all the provinces of the viceroyalty of la Plata. Far up the Paraná River, in June 1811, a *junta* at Asunción declared that it would not recognize the Spanish Government.⁶³ In October, 1813, a congress in that city approved a scheme of government which provided that the supreme authority should be vested in two men who were to be styled consuls of Paraguay.⁶⁴ About a year after this Constitution was adopted, another congress made the first consul, José de Francia, dictator of Paraguay. In June, 1816, a congress at Asunción declared that Francia should be the ruler of the republic for life. Under the sway of a dictator the province of Paraguay thus assumed the status of an independent nation.

⁶¹ Blanco, vol. VII, pp. 663-65.

⁶² *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, pp. 24-40. Great Colombia, 1821-30, included what later became the republics of Ecuador, Venezuela, and New Granada. In 1858 New Granada assumed the name of the Granadan Confederation. Four years later it took the title of the United States of Colombia. In the text the term Great Colombia has been applied to the republic of Colombia, 1821-30, while the term Colombia has been used as the name of the smaller state that emerged in 1862.

⁶³ Garay, *La revolución de la independencia del Paraguay*, pp. 158-68.

⁶⁴ *Gaceta de Buenos Aires*, November 10, 1813.

Another section of the vast viceroyalty of la Plata which ultimately separated from the provisional government at Buenos Aires was *la Banda Oriental del Uruguay*. When the uprising against Spain began some revolutionists in that section cooperated with the revolutionists at Buenos Aires; but in 1814 under the leadership of José Artigas, the Uruguayan hero of this epoch, the people upon the eastern bank of the Uruguay River began a separatist movement. After establishing his authority as "the Protector of Free Peoples" over a considerable portion of the former viceroyalty of la Plata, Artigas declined in power, and in 1820 he became an exile in Paraguay. Five years later Juan Lavalleja and his companions renewed the contest for the emancipation of *la Banda Oriental*. On August 25, 1825, an assembly at the town of Florida adopted the Uruguayan Declaration of Independence.⁶⁵ In truth, the movement to establish the modern state of Uruguay was not terminated successfully until August 27, 1828, when her great neighbors, Brazil and the Argentine republic, mutually agreed to recognize her independence.

While Uruguay was being hewn out of the side of la Plata, San Martín was winning the independence of southern South America from Spain. Early in 1812 Colonel José de San Martín, who had gained distinction under the Spanish banner in the Iberian Peninsula, undertook to train the citizen soldiers of the *junta* of Buenos Aires. He struck an important blow for the independence of the future state of Argentina on February 3, 1813, when at the head of his grenadiers he defeated a small royalist force at San Lorenzo. In August, 1814, he was placed in command of the frontier province of Cuyo, near the foothills of the Andes. There he prepared to carry out his design to organize an army with which to attack the royalists upon the Pacific coast. While San Martín was training "the Army of the Andes" at Mendoza for an attack upon the royalists who had subjugated the Chilean patriots, on July 9, 1816, a congress of delegates from certain provinces of the former viceroyalty of la Plata who had assembled at Tucumán adopted a Declaration

⁶⁵ De-María, *Compendio de la historia de la república o. del Uruguay*, vol. v, pp. 127-29.

of Independence from Spain. The state thus brought into existence was often styled the United Provinces of la Plata.⁶⁶

Early in the following year San Martín's army made an heroic march over the Andes into Chile by mountain passes that were thousands of feet higher than the pass of St. Bernard by which Napoleon crossed the Alps. The soldiers of San Martín defeated the royalist forces at Chacabuco on February 12, 1817. A year later the independence of Chile was proclaimed in Santiago.⁶⁷ After administering another defeat to the Spaniards at Maipú, San Martín proceeded to Buenos Aires to perfect arrangements for an attack upon the royalists in Peru.

In August, 1820, an expedition for the liberation of Peru which was composed of soldiers from the army of the Andes and soldiers from Chile, besides some European officers, sailed from Valparaiso in vessels belonging to the Chilean navy. After landing upon the coast of Peru, San Martín carried on a propaganda for the promotion of Peruvian independence. When the Spanish viceroy, La Serna, evacuated Lima, San Martín took possession of it: there on July 28, 1821, he proclaimed the independence of Peru.⁶⁸ But the royalists still held the Peruvian highlands, as well as the presidency of Charcas. Hence in July, 1822, San Martín, who had proclaimed himself protector of Peru, sailed from Callao in order that he might discuss the destiny of South America with Bolívar.

The upshot of an interview between Bolívar and San Martín at Guayaquil was, in brief, that San Martín relinquished the leadership in the war for independence to his Colombian rival.⁶⁹ Shortly afterwards Bolívar followed his lieutenant Sucre to Peru where those commanders prepared for a final campaign against the royalists. The army of liberation under the command of Bolívar defeated the Spaniards under General Canterac on August 6, 1824, upon the plains of Junín. On December 9, 1824, that army under General Sucre decisively defeated the

⁶⁶ *Registro oficial de la república argentina*, vol. I, p. 366.

⁶⁷ *Colección de historiadores y de documentos relativos á la independencia de Chile*, vol. xi, pp. 11-14, n.

⁶⁸ San Martín, *Documentos del archivo*, vol. xi, pp. 372, 373.

⁶⁹ Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics*, pp. 253-60.

royalists upon an ancient battle field at Ayacucho. This battle was Spain's Armageddon upon the continent of America. On August 6, 1825, delegates from the presidency of Charcas who assembled at Chuquisaca formally declared their independence of Spain.⁷⁰ Out of gratitude for Bolívar's services to the cause of independence those delegates soon christened their republic Bolivia.

After the establishment of independent governments in Mexico, Great Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay, other new states appeared upon the map of America. This took place by the disruption of existing states. Upon the downfall of Emperor Agustín I, the provinces of Central America separated from Mexico and established a Federation. After the death of Bolívar, three states resulted from the disintegration of Great Colombia. In September, 1830, an assembly of representatives from the former captaincy general of Venezuela adopted a Constitution for the republic of Venezuela.⁷¹ About the same time a convention of delegates from provinces of the former presidency of Quito adopted a Constitution for Ecuador.⁷² A constitutional convention at Bogotá announced in November, 1831, that the provinces which had composed the central part of Great Colombia would thenceforward form the state of New Granada.⁷³

The scene now shifts to Portuguese America. While the continental Spanish-American colonists were freeing themselves from the rule of their Spanish masters, the vast colony of Brazil had by successive steps been transformed into an independent nation. The Brazilian agitation for independence from the motherland dates from the flight of the Braganza dynasty from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro in 1807–1808. By that dramatic flight Brazil immediately gained her autonomy, for Rio de Janeiro became the capital of the Portuguese dominions. Another move toward independence was a decree issued by Regent John on December 16, 1815, announcing that the colony of

⁷⁰ Blanco, vol. x, pp. 62–65.

⁷¹ *Documentos para los anales de Venezuela desde el movimiento separatista de la unión colombiana hasta nuestros días*, primer período, vol. vii, pp. 135, 136.

⁷² Blanco, vol. xiv, p. 44.

⁷³ Pombo and Guerra, *Constituciones de Colombia*, vol. ii, pp. 878–81.

Brazil was a kingdom, thus placing it upon the same constitutional basis as the Algarves and Portugal.⁷⁴ After the death of Queen Maria I on March 20, 1816, her son John, who had been acting as regent, was formally proclaimed king of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves.⁷⁵

A further stimulus was given to the movement for the independence of Brazil by events that occurred in Portugal. In 1820 a regency which had been established there under English auspices was overthrown by revolutionists, a new regency was proclaimed, and a constituent *Côrtes* was convoked to frame a constitution. In Brazil, as well as in Portugal, there appeared a party which favored the choice of Lisbon as the capital of the Brazilian-Portuguese Empire. King John VI evidently fell under the influence of that party; for on February 24, 1821, he issued a decree declaring in favor of the constitution which was being elaborated by the Portuguese *Côrtes*.⁷⁶ When, on April 26, 1821, John VI sailed from Rio de Janeiro for Lisbon, he addressed a letter to his eldest son Pedro, whom he appointed regent, advising him to secure the Brazilian crown himself rather than to permit an adventurer to appropriate it.⁷⁷ Reports of decrees of the Portuguese *Côrtes*, which apparently aimed to reduce Brazil to the status of a colony, aroused the spirit of Brazilian separatists.⁷⁸ In September, 1822, upon the banks of the Ypiranga River near São Paulo, Regent Pedro announced the independence of Brazil from Portugal. Amid the enthusiasm of the populace, on October 12, 1822, Pedro was acclaimed constitutional emperor of Brazil at Rio de Janeiro.⁷⁹ With the aid of Lord Cochrane, a brave Englishman who as a revolutionary naval commander had aided Chile and Peru to establish their independence of Spain, the Brazilian revolutionists soon succeeded in subduing the Portuguese that opposed the separation of Brazil from the motherland.

⁷⁴ *Collecção das leis do Brazil*, 1815, pp. 62, 63.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 1818, p. 11.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 1821, pt. II, p. 22.

⁷⁷ Castro Carreira, *História financeira e orçamentaria do Brazil desde sua fundação*, p. 62.

⁷⁸ Roure, *Formação constitucional do Brazil*, pp. 37-40.

⁷⁹ Pereira da Silva, vol. III, pp. 122-29.

With regard to the boundaries between the independent states which appeared upon the map of America during the early decades of the nineteenth century, it should be noticed that Spanish-American publicists have generally considered that the territories belonging to their respective states were the lands included within the corresponding colonial divisions at the opening of the Revolution. Certain leaders of the Revolution in Spanish America indeed held that the boundaries of the new states should coincide with the boundaries of those colonial divisions which in 1810 had been under the control of a viceroy, a captain general, or a president. This doctrine became known in the international law of Hispanic America as the *uti possidetis* of 1810. The doctrine that national boundaries should be based upon colonial boundaries was also entertained by certain Spanish Americans in regard to their boundaries with the empire of Brazil.

The transformation of the continental colonies of Spain in America into independent nations was characterized by John Quincy Adams as the most important event in modern history. Some historical scholars would doubtless consider that statement as an exaggeration. It would probably be more accurate to say that the dissolution of the Spanish colonial empire in America and the separation of Brazil from Portugal jointly constituted an event worthy of being named with the Revolution of the English colonies in North America. In regard to the Spanish-American Revolution, Secretary Hamilton Fish rightly said that that movement opened a vast field to the influence of the United States. It is little else than a paraphrase of his forgotten words to say that this event afforded an opportunity to the people and the publicists of that country peacefully to influence Hispanic America by ideals of democratic government, of a more liberal commercial policy, of a system of religious freedom and toleration, and of a political system distinct from the dynastic system of Europe. The following chapters which describe the relations between the United States and the Hispanic-American nations will necessarily devote some attention to the influence exerted by the United States upon Hispanic America.

CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL INTER-COURSE

The revolted Spanish colonies send messengers to Washington—The early policy of the United States concerning the Spanish-American Revolution—The policy of Portugal—Monroe's Message of March 8, 1822—The Law of May 4, 1822—The United States acknowledges the independence of Hispanic-American nations—The first legations of the United States in Hispanic America—Early Hispanic-American legations at Washington—The intervention of the Holy Alliance in Spain—The promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine—Its reception in Hispanic-American countries—The policy of England toward the new republics—The acknowledgment of Brazil's independence by England and Portugal—Tardy recognition of the Spanish-American republics by the motherland—The rôle of the United States.

The establishment of diplomatic intercourse between the United States and Hispanic-American nations was presaged by the appointment of agents from the revolted Spanish colonists to the government at Washington. At Caracas the provisional *junta* soon selected Juan Bolívar and Telésforo de Orea to carry to the United States the news of the changes that had occurred in Venezuela.¹ Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, in December, 1810, commissioned Pascasio Ortiz de Letona to negotiate a treaty of commerce and alliance with the United States.² In June, 1811, the *junta* of Buenos Aires instructed two agents bearing assumed names to proceed to Washington and to secure arms from the Republic of the North.³ Although President Madison could not receive such messengers at a time when the provisional governments in Spanish America had not even declared themselves independent of the motherland, yet their activities directed the attention of the people and the government of the United States

¹ Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America," in *American Historical Association Report*, 1907, vol. I, p. 527.

² Alamán, *Historia de México*, vol. II, pp. 65, 66; García, *Documentos históricos mexicanos*, vol. VI, pp. 27, 33.

³ The credentials of Diego Saavedra and Juan Pedro de Aguirre dated June 6, 1811, are found in State Department MSS., Papers Relative to the Revolted Spanish Colonies.

to the insurrectionary movements which were developing in the South.

After formal declarations of independence from Spain were made in America, the revolutionary governments selected agents to inform the United States of those *pronunciamientos* of liberty. The first agent to represent in the United States a Hispanic-American nation which had asserted her independence of Old World monarchies was Telésforo de Orea, who, on July 27, 1811, was made by the new government at Caracas the "extraordinary agent of the Venezuelan Confederation" to the United States.⁴ In 1817—in accordance with the action of the congress of Tucumán—the United Provinces of la Plata dispatched Manuel Hermenejildo de Aguirre to Washington to solicit the acknowledgment of her independence.⁵ On May 15, 1820, the government of Great Colombia appointed Manuel Torres its agent and chargé d'affaires to the United States.⁶ There is no doubt that the representations of such agents at Washington vividly impressed upon Secretary of State James Monroe and his successor, John Quincy Adams, the fact that new nations were arising in Spanish America.⁷

During the period when the Spanish Americans were establishing their independence, the government of the United States sent agents to various parts of South America who were expected to report upon the conditions existing in the revolted colonies. In December, 1817, a commission composed of Theodoric Bland, John Graham, and Caesar A. Rodney, with H. M. Brackenridge as secretary, sailed in the frigate *Congress* for South America. Instructions to those commissioners, written by Secretary of State Richard Rush and dated July 18, 1817, appropriately described the policy of the United States toward Spanish America in these words:

It is by success that the colonies acquire new claims on other powers which it may comport neither with their interest nor duty to disregard.

⁴ Urrutia, *Páginas de historia diplomática*, pp. 20, 21.

⁵ *Registro oficial de la república argentina*, vol. I, p. 381.

⁶ *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, vol. iv, pp. 833, 834.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 832-36; Cadena, *Anales diplomáticos de Colombia*, pp. 123-50; Robertson, "The Beginnings of Spanish-American Diplomacy," in *Turner Essays in American History*, pp. 254, 255.

Several of the colonies having declared their independence and enjoyed it for some years, and the authority of Spain being shaken in others, it seems probable that, if the parties be left to themselves, the most permanent political changes will be effected. It therefore seems incumbent on the United States to watch the movement in its subsequent steps with particular attention, with a view to pursue such course as a just regard for all those considerations which they are bound to respect may dictate.⁸

But this commission—the most important of all the missions sent to South America during the revolutionary epoch—was without much influence upon the policy of the United States. The reports of the commissioners did not agree: their generalizations upon the obvious conditions which existed in South America were colored by their respective prejudices.⁹

While observing with interest the emergence of new nations in Spanish America, the United States Government, as in duty bound, adopted a neutral policy with regard to Spain and her revolted colonies. It viewed them as belligerents in a civil war. On September 1, 1815, in accordance with the policy initiated in 1793, President Madison issued a proclamation of neutrality which warned all citizens of the United States to refrain from enlisting in military expeditions against the dominions of Spain.¹⁰ In December, 1816, in a special message to Congress, President Monroe proposed that the neutrality laws should be modified: on January 14 following the House Committee on Foreign Relations reported a bill which contained more stringent provisions than the existing law in regard to violations of neutrality; and on March 17 that bill entitled "An Act more effectually to preserve the neutral relations of the United States" became a law.¹¹ That act was superseded by another law on April 20, 1818, which prohibited all United States citizens from accepting or exercising any commission within their country to serve any people against a government with which the United States was at peace. This law also enjoined citizens of the United

⁸ As quoted by Paxson, *The Independence of the South-American Republics*, p. 123.

⁹ *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, vol. iv, pp. 217-323; Paxson, pp. 133, 134.

¹⁰ *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, vol. iv, p. 1.

¹¹ *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States*, vol. III, pp. 370, 371.

States not to enlist in the service of a foreign state or colony. Neither were they to equip any ship or privateer to cruise against a foreign nation.¹² Obviously the object of those neutrality laws was to prevent such persons as strongly sympathized with the Spanish-American revolutionists from committing any unneutral acts against Spain.

For several years the government of the United States was restrained from taking a more favorable attitude than that of friendly neutrality toward the new nations in Spanish America partly because of doubts entertained by prominent officials—notably by Secretary of State John Quincy Adams—as to whether or not their independence was actually and indisputably established. While the cabinet of President Monroe was seriously considering the acknowledgment of the independence of those nations, Henry Clay became the eloquent champion of recognition in Congress. His glowing periods earned for him the gratitude of some South American leaders but did not greatly influence the policy of the United States. Recognition of the Spanish-American nations could hardly take place while the United States Government was negotiating with Spain for the cession of Florida. During the negotiations which culminated in the Treaty of 1819 between the United States and Spain, and during the period which elapsed before that treaty was ratified by the Spanish king, Secretary Adams repeatedly refused to give a pledge to Spain that his government would not recognize the revolted Spanish colonies. After the ratifications of that treaty were exchanged in 1821, a serious obstacle to the acknowledgment of Spanish-American independence by the United States was removed.¹³

To the writer it is clear that during the early stages of the protracted struggle for the liberation of the American colonists from Spanish rule, the policy of the United States was to investigate conditions in the revolted colonies, to maintain her neu-

¹² *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States*, vol. III, pp. 447–50. On commercial relations between the United States and the Hispanic-American states during this period see pp. 192–97, *infra*.

¹³ Robertson, "The Recognition of the Hispanic American Nations by the United States," in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. I, pp. 245–50.

trality in the war between Spain and the revolutionists, and to watch any developments which might enable her to take steps favorable to the rising states. In the meantime the provisional governments in certain parts of Spanish America entered into relations with the revolutionary authorities of other sections which implied a desire to acknowledge them as distinct political entities.

For our purpose it will be sufficient to notice an illustration from southern South America. On December 12, 1818, the congress of the United Provinces of La Plata formally acknowledged Chile as "a free, sovereign and independent state invested with all the attributes and powers . . . inherent to that character."¹⁴ But as this action proceeded from a state which was not an acknowledged member of the society of nations, it did not constitute recognition.

The state enjoying a recognized position in the society of nations which was the first to establish formal relations with a Spanish-American nation was Portugal. When King John VI appointed Juan Manuel de Figuieredo consul to the United Provinces of La Plata, he informed that agent of his desire to promote political and commercial intercourse with the Spanish-American states. In the credentials written by the Portuguese minister of foreign affairs for Figuieredo on April 16, 1821, this minister declared that, because of the *de facto* authority exercised by the United Provinces of La Plata, the court of Rio de Janeiro would treat the citizens of the United Provinces like the citizens of other nations, that thenceforth the commercial and diplomatic agents of this government would be received by the Portuguese court with all the consideration accorded by international law to the agents and ministers of independent governments, and that this government was recognized by the kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves as independent.¹⁵ On July 28 Figuieredo presented his credentials to the government at Buenos Aires, which received him in his official capacity.¹⁶ Figuieredo

¹⁴ *Registro oficial de la república argentina*, vol. I, p. 482.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 569, 570.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*; *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, vol. iv, p. 821.

sent a letter to Miguel Zañartu, the agent of Chile at Buenos Aires, on August 11, 1821, announcing that his government recognized that state as an independent nation.¹⁷

The establishment of independent governments in various sections of the Indies caused publicists in the United States to look with favor upon proposals to recognize the nations of Spanish America. On January 30, 1822, the House of Representatives asked President Monroe to lay before it the correspondence concerning the Spanish-American states which might show the political status of the new American governments, and the condition of the war between them and Spain.¹⁸ To that request Monroe responded with a special message to Congress on March 8, 1822. With this message was sent a letter from Secretary Adams transmitting communications from agents of the United States in Spanish America and documents illustrative of conditions in that region. In his letter Adams stated that the communications from agents of the United States were "those most recently received, and exhibiting their views of the actual condition of the several South American revolutionary governments." Those communications included letters from John M. Forbes, agent for commerce and seamen at Buenos Aires, upon conditions in the United Provinces of la Plata, and from J. B. Prevost, agent at Santiago, upon conditions in Chile. Among the documents submitted were the Peruvian Declaration of Independence, an important law of the Venezuelan congress dated December 17, 1819, the Plan of Iguala and the Treaty of Córdoba, and certain correspondence which had passed between Secretary Adams and Manuel Torres. These papers were illustrative of political conditions in the United Provinces of la Plata, Chile, Peru, Great Colombia, and Mexico.¹⁹

In his message President Monroe reviewed the policy which the United States had pursued toward the rebellious Spanish colonies. Monroe stated that, as soon as the movement had

¹⁷ Pradt, *Examen du plan présenté aux cortes pour la reconnaissance de l'indépendance de l'Amérique Espagnol*, pp. 100-2.

¹⁸ *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 825.

¹⁹ *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, vol. iv, pp. 818-45.

assumed such a form as made the success of the revolutionists probable, the rights to which they were entitled "by the law of nations, as equal parties to a civil war," were extended to them. After making a brief résumé of the progress of the Revolution in Spanish America, he said that the five provinces under special consideration were "in full enjoyment of their independence" and that there was "not the most remote prospect of their being deprived of it." With regard to Spain he maintained that she was unable to restore her authority over the revolted provinces and that she ought to become reconciled with them "on the basis of their unqualified independence." He declared that the United States had entertained a sincere desire to act in concert with certain European powers in the recognition of Spanish-American independence. The President suggested that, if Congress concurred in his views, it should make the necessary appropriations to recognize those provinces which were in the enjoyment of their independence.²⁰

Despite the indignant protest of Joaquín de Anduaga, the Spanish ambassador at Washington, to Secretary Adams, and the receipt of news that the *Cortes* of Spain had expressed its disapproval of the acknowledgment of the independence of the Spanish colonies by foreign nations, both the House and the Senate approved the policy of recognition. On May 4, 1822, Monroe signed a bill which appropriated one hundred thousand dollars to defray the expenses of "such missions to the independent nations on the American continent" as the President might deem proper.²¹ Possibly it was because of a suggestion which Monroe had made to Jonathan Russell, the chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Relations,²² that a wide discretion was thus allowed the executive in selecting the nations to which diplomatic missions should be sent. The act of May 4, 1822, was an announcement by the United States Government of its intention to acknowledge the independence of the revolted colonies of Spain in America. With the exception of the Portu-

²⁰ *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, vol. iv, pp. 818, 819.

²¹ *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States*, vol. iii, p. 678.

²² Monroe, *Writings*, vol. vi, pp. 211, 212.

guese monarchy, the United States was the first member of the society of nations to extend the hand of fellowship to a Spanish-American state.²³

This policy, however, was not completely carried out for several years. The first Hispanic-American nation to have her independent status acknowledged by the United States was Great Colombia. That recognition was consummated by the presentation, on June 19, 1822, of her chargé, Manuel Torres, to President Monroe. The next state which had her independence acknowledged was Mexico: on December 12, 1822, Adams presented to the President, José Manuel Zozaya, minister plenipotentiary from the Mexican Empire. After the disruption of that empire the independence of the Central American Federation was acknowledged by the United States through the reception of her agent, Antonio José Cañaz, by Monroe on August 4, 1824. The recognition of the United Provinces of la Plata, of Chile, and of Peru was accomplished by the appointment of diplomatic agents to those states. On January 27, 1823, the appointment of Caesar A. Rodney as minister plenipotentiary of the United States to the United Provinces was confirmed by the Senate. On the same day the appointment of Heman Allen as minister plenipotentiary to Chile was confirmed. And, on May 2, 1826, the appointment was confirmed of James Cooley as chargé d'affaires to Peru.²⁴

The policy of recognition adopted by the United States was noticed by some leaders of the new American nations. In two widely separated states of Hispanic America Monroe's message of March 8, 1822, was made known to the public. Early in May, 1822, a Spanish translation of that message was published in the official organ of the Mexican Government, the *Gaceta del gobierno imperial de México*.²⁵ It was also published by order of the government in the *Registro oficial* of the United Provinces at Buenos Aires.²⁶ There were a few expressions of sentiment by

²³ Robertson, "The United States and Spain in 1822," in *American Historical Review*, vol. xx, p. 783.

²⁴ Robertson, "The Recognition of the Hispanic American Nations by the United States," *loc. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 259-62.

²⁵ *Gaceta extraordinaria del gobierno imperial de México*, May 1, 1822.

²⁶ *Registro oficial de la república argentina*, vol. II, pp. 16, 17.

South American governments which indicated their pleasure at the decisive action taken by the United States. To Charles Todd, a special agent from Washington who brought to Bogotá news of the impending recognition of Great Colombia, the Colombian secretary of foreign affairs, Manuel Gual, declared that his fellow-citizens had never despaired that "their brothers of the United States would be the first to do justice to the Colombian people."²⁷ And in the credentials for José M. Salazar, who was appointed minister from Great Colombia to Washington in September, 1822, credentials which were signed by Vice President Santander and Secretary Gual, there was an expression of pleasure concerning the recognition policy of the United States—"a conduct so frank, so noble, and so disinterested."²⁸

During the same decade in which the United States acknowledged the independence of several Spanish-American nations she also recognized Brazil. Before a constitution was framed for the Brazilian Empire, the ministers of Pedro I were planning to initiate diplomatic relations with important states of Europe and America. Even before the independence of Brazil from Portugal had been formally proclaimed, Pedro I signed a decree which appointed Luiz Montinho Lima Alves e Silva, an official in the Brazilian Department of State, chargé d'affaires to the United States.²⁹ But as that official was retained in Rio de Janeiro, on January 21, 1824, Luis de Carvalho e Mello, who had become the imperial minister of foreign affairs, appointed José Silvestre Rebello as chargé d'affaires to Washington. In his instructions to Rebello dated January 31, 1824, Carvalho e Mello said that the government of the United States ought to recognize the independence of Brazil.³⁰

Upon his arrival at Washington, in April, 1824, Rebello initiated negotiations with Secretary Adams for the acknowledgment of the independent status of Brazil. At Adams' request he presented an "exposition" of the events which had led to the

²⁷ Mr. Gual to Mr. Todd, January 2, 1823, State Department MSS., Dispatches from Colombia, vol. II.

²⁸ State Department MSS., Notes from Colombian Legation, vol. I.

²⁹ Rio Branco, "O Brasil, os Estados Unidos e o Monroeísmo," in *Revista americana*, vol. III, p. 471.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 475.

announcement of Brazilian independence. In this exposition, and in other communications, Rebello presented the plea that the acknowledgment of the independence of the Spanish-American nations by the United States furnished a precedent for the recognition of Brazil. After the policy of recognition had been discussed in the cabinet, and the majority of its members had held that the status of Brazil as an empire should not be considered an obstacle to her recognition, Adams and Monroe decided that Rebello should be received in his official capacity. Hence on May 26, 1824, Adams presented Rebello to President Monroe, which constituted the recognition of the Brazilian Empire by the United States. Upon that occasion Rebello promised to remember with gratitude that the government of the United States was the first to acknowledge Brazil's independence.³¹ Despite a "passionate" protest by Joaquim Barrozo Pereira, the Portuguese chargé d'affaires at Washington, against the reception of Rebello by President Monroe, on March 9, 1825, Condy Raguet, a merchant of Philadelphia who had been acting as consul of the United States in Rio de Janeiro, was appointed chargé d'affaires to Brazil.³²

The first minister of the United States to represent his government in Hispanic America was Richard C. Anderson, who was appointed minister to Great Colombia on January 27, 1823. In "personal instructions" Secretary Adams informed Anderson that one of his most important duties was to transmit to his government "accurate information" concerning the internal and external policy of Great Colombia as well as to collect any knowledge which might be useful to the United States about the government, finances, commerce, arts, and sciences of that state. Anderson was given full power to negotiate concerning commerce and navigation. In general instructions to Anderson, Adams made an exposition of the policy which his government had pursued toward the Spanish-American Revolution and expressed the hope that European nations would be compelled

³¹ Robertson, "The Recognition of the Hispanic American Nations by the United States," *loc. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 265-67.

³² *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America*, vol. III, pp. 437, 445.

to follow the example of the United States in regard to recognition—"that is, to recognize without condition and without equivalent."³³

After a long and tiresome journey overland from La Guaira, on December 10, 1823, Minister Anderson caught his first glimpse of Bogotá. Six days later, in the former palace of the viceroys of New Granada, Anderson was presented to Vice President Santander. He made an address declaring that President Monroe ardently desired to maintain "perfect harmony and generous friendship" between Great Colombia and the United States. In response the Colombian vice president paid a compliment to the United States which he characterized as "the classic land of American liberty," and expressed a desire to strengthen the friendly relations that happily existed between her and Great Colombia. The *Gaceta de Colombia* declared that the arrival of the first minister plenipotentiary of the United States in Bogotá could not fail "to inspire the most pleasant sensations in the bosom of every friend of liberty."³⁴

As the personal instructions of Minister Caesar A. Rodney were used as a basis for Anderson's they need not be described here. Adams rightly declared in general instructions to Rodney that the exchange of diplomatic missions between the United States and the Spanish-American nations was "a memorable event." Rodney was instructed that in all his political relations with the United Provinces of La Plata his standard should be "the spirit of Independence and Freedom." Minister Rodney arrived at the city of Buenos Aires in November, 1823; but, because of a serious illness, he was not presented to Governor Rodríguez of the province of Buenos Aires—who was acting as the chief executive of the United Provinces—until December 27. Upon that occasion Rodney spoke of the recognition of the Spanish-American states by President Monroe. In response, Bernardino Rivadavia, the secretary of foreign affairs for Rodríguez, said that this action of "the great and good" Monroe was "above all praise," and declared that the acknowledgment

³³ Robertson, "The First Legations of the United States in Latin America," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. II, pp. 193-96.

³⁴ *Gaceta de Colombia*, December 21, 1823.

of the independence of the United Provinces by the United States was "the most important event in the history of his country."³⁵

Besides his own general instructions, Minister Heman Allen was furnished with copies of the general instructions to Rodney, as well as those to Anderson, which he was to consider as addressed to himself upon any point to which they might be applicable.³⁶ When Allen arrived at Valparaiso early in April, 1824, *El avisador chileno* said: "Every patriot contemplates this mission as the link that will strengthen our relations to the great nation of our continent. She has shown us the toilsome path bordered by errors and virtues which we ought to follow to emancipate ourselves from transatlantic oppressors."³⁷ In Santiago, on April 22, Minister Allen was received by Acting Supreme Director Errázuriz. When the secretary of foreign relations, Juan Egaña, presented him to Errázuriz, he declared that the people and the government of Chile took pleasure "in drawing closer the relations of friendship with the great nation which has been the first to recognize our independence, which, placed at the front of the American continent, will forever be the safeguard of liberty, which by its act of generous justice, by the wisdom of its institutions, and by virtue of its citizens, commands our admiration and our gratitude." After Allen made a speech, Errázuriz responded by mentioning "the gratitude of the people of Chile for the generous acknowledgment of their independence."³⁸

Of the South American nations which came within the purview of the act of May 4, 1822, Peru was the last to receive a diplomatic agent from the United States. The general instructions to James Cooley dated November 6, 1826, were written by Henry Clay, who had become secretary of state under President Adams. Those instructions declared that the President of the United States wished to establish "the most amicable relations"

³⁵ Robertson, "The First Legations of the United States in Latin America," *loc. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 197-200.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 200, 201.

³⁷ *El avisador chileno*, April 3, 1824.

³⁸ *Courier de Arauco*, April 30, 1824, as quoted in *Niles' Register*, vol. xxvi, p. 398.

with Peru and "to cultivate that harmony and good will" which should prevail between the two nations. Cooley was to inquire about the commercial relations of Peru with the United States: he was to insist that his country's trade should enjoy the same rights and privileges as that of any other nation. He was to transmit to Washington information respecting "the physical condition of the country, the political and moral character" of her institutions and inhabitants, and "the actual condition of the aborigines within the limits of the Republic." That chargé was also to inquire about the boundaries of Peru, her relations with other Spanish-American states, her government, finances, army, navy, the products of her mines, and her relations with European powers. Especially was he to study Peru with reference to the development of her commerce with the United States.³⁹ At Lima, on May 21, 1827, Cooley was formally presented to General Andrés Santa Cruz who, as president of the council of government, was acting as the Peruvian executive. On the following day, the United States chargé wrote to Secretary Clay and thus described his reception by Santa Cruz: "He was very pleased to express his satisfaction at receiving the Minister of so great and magnanimous a nation as that of the United States, a nation whose example they were endeavoring to imitate. . . ."⁴⁰

On December 29, 1825, John Williams was appointed chargé d'affaires to the Federation of Central America.⁴¹ Clay's instructions to that agent were signed on February 10 of the following year. Williams was directed to gather information concerning a transisthmian canal. A chief object of his mission was to collect data about the physical character of Central America and the political and moral condition of her inhabitants. The chargé was to study the country with special reference to the possibilities of a commerce, mutually advantageous, with the United States. He was to resist any attempt of a foreign power

³⁹ State Department MSS., Instructions to Ministers, vol. II.

⁴⁰ Mr. Cooley to Mr. Clay, May 22, 1827, State Department MSS., Dispatches from Peru, vol. I.

⁴¹ Senate Executive Journal, vol. III, pp. 461, 469. An earlier appointee, John Miller, had died on the way to his post. Register of the Department of State, p. 65.

to secure special commercial concessions. All that the United States desired was "free competition."⁴²

Although the appointment of a minister to Mexico was early considered by the United States Government, yet, partly because of the reluctance of that government to accredit a minister to an American empire, and partly because of the refusal of two appointees to serve in that post, it was not until March 8, 1825, that Joel R. Poinsett was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Mexico, which had just adopted a republican Constitution. Clay's instructions to Poinsett stated that the chief purpose of his mission was, "to lay, for the first time, the foundations of an intercourse of amity, commerce, navigation, and neighborhood, which may exert a powerful influence, for a long period, upon the prosperity of both States." Clay also declared that the United States desired no favors because she had acknowledged Mexican independence at an early date, but that his government held that Mexico should not extend to the commerce of European states any favors or privileges which she did not grant to her northern neighbor. In his negotiations for a commercial treaty with Mexico, Poinsett was to be guided by the principle "of placing the commerce and navigation of the two countries on the . . . liberal footing of reciprocity between resident citizens and the foreigner. . . ."⁴³

The first minister from the United States was officially received in the city of Mexico on June 1, 1825, by Guadeloupe Victoria, a revolutionary leader who had just become president. In a speech made upon that occasion the minister expressed the deep interest of the United States in the destinies of her neighbor. When he referred to the recognition policy of his government, Poinsett rightly declared that it furnished an example which had since been followed "by the freest government of Europe."⁴⁴ President Victoria expressed his pleasure at the closer relations with the United States which were made possible by Poinsett's mission:

⁴² Robertson, "The First Legations of the United States in Latin America," *loc. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 205, 206.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 202-4.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

This great people on being relieved from their humiliating guardianship, fixed their eyes on the examples set them by the people of the North, and the remembrance of the Father of American Liberty, of George Washington, is as grateful to them as that of the heroes who have laid with their blood the foundations of Justice, Peace, and Philanthropy.⁴⁵

The recognition of other nations which eventually appeared in Spanish America took place during the decades that followed the age of Monroe. It has been noticed that in 1830 Ecuador and Venezuela seceded from Great Colombia. Before the central nucleus had adopted a different name or a new constitution, the government at Bogotá accredited Domingo Acosta as chargé d'affaires and consul general to the United States. That consul arrived in Washington shortly after a constituent congress at Bogotá had adopted a provisional constitution for the government of New Granada. The reception of Acosta as chargé d'affaires from Great Colombia to the United States on January 2, 1832, may accordingly be considered as the recognition of the distinct and independent status of New Granada; for he represented that state until September, 1835, before presenting new credentials. Venezuela's independent status was recognized on February 28, 1835, by the grant of an *exequatur* to her consul at New York, Nicolas D. C. Moller. On June 9, 1838, the independence of Ecuador was acknowledged by the United States by the appointment of J. C. Pickett as chargé d'affaires to the Peru-Bolivian Confederation: it being understood by the President and the Senate when this appointment was made that Pickett should be authorized to proceed first to Quito in order to negotiate a commercial treaty with the Ecuadorian Government.

The United States acknowledged Uruguay's independence by issuing an *exequatur* to John Darby, her consul general at New York City, on July 1, 1834. After the disruption of the Peru-Bolivian Confederation, on March 30, 1848, the independent status of Bolivia was acknowledged by the appointment of John

⁴⁵ Inclosure D, in Mr. Poinsett to Mr. Clay, June 4, 1825, State Department MSS., Letters from Mexico, vol. 1.

Appleton as chargé d'affaires from the United States to that republic.⁴⁶ Partly because of Paraguay's hostile attitude toward Argentina—which was engaged in a struggle against France and England—⁴⁷ Paraguayan independence was not recognized until April 27, 1852, when President Fillmore and Secretary Webster issued credentials to J. S. Pendleton, chargé d'affaires of the United States to the Argentine republic, credentials which empowered him to negotiate a treaty with Paraguay.⁴⁸

The United States accredited chargés or ministers to Venezuela, Ecuador, Paraguay, and Uruguay at varying periods after she recognized their independence. After the Federation of Central America dissolved in 1839, legations of the United States were ultimately established at the capitals of the five Central American states.⁴⁹

As already noticed, the first nations of Hispanic America to send diplomatic agents to Washington were Colombia, Mexico, and Brazil. The next member of the new family of states to provide for the establishment of a legation in the United States was the United Provinces of la Plata, which, on December 23, 1823, appointed General Carlos de Alvear, minister plenipotentiary to the United States.⁵⁰ Alvear appeared in Washington in October of the following year where his credentials were filed in the Department of State.⁵¹ Chile established a legation in the United States as early as 1828, for in that year Joaquín Campino was received at Washington as Chilean envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary.⁵² In 1837 General Memucan Hunt was received as minister from Central America to the United States. Peru's legation in the United States was established in 1846 when Joaquín José de Osma was received as

⁴⁶ Robertson, "The Recognition of the Hispanic American Nations by the United States," *loc. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 263-65.

⁴⁷ Buchanan, *Works*, pp. 444, 445.

⁴⁸ *Historia documentada de las cuestiones entre el gobierno del Paraguay y el de los Estados Unidos*, pp. 22, 23.

⁴⁹ For the location of United States legations in Hispanic America in 1914, see maps on pp. 194-95, *infra*.

⁵⁰ *Registro oficial de la república argentina*, vol. II, p. 48.

⁵¹ State Department MSS., Notes from Argentine Confederation and Buenos Aires, vol. I.

⁵² State Department MSS., Notes from Chilean Legation, vol. I.

Peruvian minister at Washington. The embassy of Venezuela in the United States dates from 1851, when Ignacio Pulido was received there as her minister. About two years later the republic of Ecuador established a legation in the United States, General José Villamil being received by that government in the capacity of Ecuadorian chargé d'affaires. At intervals after the disruption of the Central American Federation, Honduras, Nicaragua, Salvador, Costa Rica, and Guatemala established legations in the United States.⁵³

A short time after the United States Government recognized the independence of Colombia, Mexico, the United Provinces of la Plata, and Chile, it took another significant step by promulgating the Monroe Doctrine. That doctrine was evoked by two sets of circumstances: the claim of the Russian Emperor to extensive jurisdiction upon the northwest coast of North America; and a belief which prevailed in official circles at Washington that the Holy Alliance was contemplating intervention to restore the authority of Ferdinand VII over his revolted colonies in America. For our purpose it will perhaps be sufficient to describe the second set of circumstances.

The Holy Alliance was formed by Alexander I, Emperor of Russia, in September, 1815, after the plenipotentiaries of seven powers at the Congress of Vienna had signed the great act which, in general, provided for the reconstruction of Europe according to the doctrine of legitimacy. Besides Alexander I, the original signatories of the Act of the Holy Alliance were Francis I, Emperor of Austria, and Frederick William III, King of Prussia. Article I of that so-called treaty declared that the three contracting monarchs would remain united by "the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity," that they would "on all occasions and in all places, lend each other aid and assistance," and that in a fraternal spirit they would lend their subjects and their armies "to protect religion, peace, and justice."⁵⁴ In November, 1815, the Treaty of the Holy Alliance was signed by Louis XVIII, King of France.

⁵³ *Register of the Department of State*, 1874, pp. 110-21.

⁵⁴ *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. III, pp. 211, 212.

Under the leadership of the Austrian chancellor Prince Metternich, in 1821, the Holy Allies intervened in Italy to restore Ferdinand IV to the throne of Naples. At the Congress of Verona on November 22, 1822, the representatives of Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia signed a secret treaty which they expressly declared to be an addition to the Treaty of the Holy Alliance. In the Treaty of Verona those nations declared that the system of representative government was as incompatible with monarchical principles as the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people with divine right. They agreed to use all their efforts to extinguish representative government in Europe and to prevent the introduction of that system into those countries where it was unknown. The contracting parties entrusted to France the task of subduing the Spanish revolutionists who in 1820 had forced King Ferdinand VII to accept a liberal Constitution.⁵⁵ French soldiers, acting as the agents of the Holy Alliance, marched beyond the Pyrenees in April, 1823: they soon overthrew the constitutional government and restored Ferdinand VII to absolute power!

Statesmen in the Old World and the New were startled at the intervention of the Holy Alliance in the Iberian Peninsula. Prominent leaders of the Spanish-American Revolution expressed fear that the Holy Allies would next proceed to subjugate their republics! Some South American publicists dreamed of an American confederation which would counterbalance the Confederation of Europe. In the autumn of 1823 certain members of President Monroe's cabinet were apprehensive of an attack upon the American republics by the Holy Alliance. Because of this apparent menace George Canning, the English secretary of state for foreign affairs, proposed to Richard Rush, the United States minister at London, that England and the United States should make a joint declaration against any attempt by a European power other than Spain to subjugate the revolted Spanish colonies by force, or to acquire any part of them by cession or conquest. As he was not able to secure the assent of Minister Rush to such a declaration,

⁵⁵ Snow, *Treaties and Topics in American Diplomacy*, pp. 245, 246.

on October 9, 1822, Canning took occasion to inform Prince Polignac, the French minister in London, of his firm opposition to intervention in the Spanish colonies.⁵⁶ It was partly due to apprehensions concerning the projects of the Holy Alliance that on December 2, 1823, President Monroe sent that famous message to Congress in which he announced that the American continents were "henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization" by any European powers and referred to the political system of the Holy Allies as being essentially different from that of the United States:

We owe it, therefore, to candor and, to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.⁵⁷

That memorable declaration was an announcement by the President of the United States concerning the manner in which he proposed that his government should meet a special emergency, should that emergency arise. It has appropriately been said that this "classic statement of the position of the United States in the New World," applied an "old tendency" on the part of the United States to a "particular exigency."⁵⁸ Although many writers have discussed the applications of the Monroe Doctrine, yet few attempts have been made to ascertain the reactions which the famous message produced upon European or Hispanic-American contemporaries. In the following pages we shall

⁵⁶ Robertson, "The Holy Alliance; Its Origins and Influence," in *History Teachers' Magazine*, vol. viii, p. 341.

⁵⁷ Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, vol. ii, p. 218.

⁵⁸ Turner, *Rise of the New West*, p. 220.

notice in some detail how the original Monroe Doctrine was received by Hispanic-American nations.

The earliest official notice of the Monroe Doctrine in Hispanic America was taken in Rio de Janeiro. In the instructions of Carvalho e Mello to Rebello dated January 31, 1824, that minister mentioned the principles of Monroe's recent message which announced the necessity that all the American nations should ally themselves to fight in defense of their rights and territories.⁵⁹ When that chargé was presented to President Monroe he accordingly suggested the formation of a "concert of American powers to sustain the general system of American independence."⁶⁰ On September 25, 1824, Carvalho e Mello addressed a dispatch to Rebello in which he mentioned the need of a continental alliance which might formulate a purely American policy.⁶¹ Conversing with Secretary Adams on January 27, 1825, Rebello proposed that an alliance should be formed between Brazil and the United States which other nations of South America should be invited to join. On the following day the Brazilian chargé sent a note to Adams about the foreign policy of the American nations. Rebello began his note by mentioning Monroe's message of December 2, 1823, and ended by proposing a convention between the United States and Brazil which should preserve Brazil's independence in case any European power should venture to aid Portugal to recover her former colony.⁶²

On April 6, 1825, a copy of this note was sent to Secretary of State Henry Clay, who replied seven days later. The secretary declared that the President adhered to the principles of his predecessor as formulated on December 2, 1823. Yet Clay took the view that there was no likelihood that Portugal would secure aid from other European powers in subjugating her former colony, and that consequently there was no necessity for "a convention founded upon that improbable contingency." With regard to an offensive and defensive alliance between the Brazilian Empire and the United States to repel an invasion of

⁵⁹ Rio Branco, *loc. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 475, 476.

⁶⁰ Adams, *Memoirs*, vol. VI, p. 359.

⁶¹ Rio Branco, *loc. cit.*, vol. III, p. 477.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 479, 480.

Brazil by Portuguese soldiers, he declared that such an alliance would be inconsistent with the neutral policy which the United States had pursued in the struggles between the European motherlands and their revolted colonies in America.⁶³ Thus the policy of the United States Government was to refrain from applying the newly formulated doctrine to a hypothetical case based upon an unsettled dispute between Portugal and her former colony in America.

The promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine also had some influence upon Mexican politics. On December 6, 1823, José A. Torrens, Mexico's chargé d'affaires in the United States, wrote to the Mexican secretary of foreign affairs and transmitted news of the promulgation of that doctrine, interpreting it to signify that the United States would intervene if a European power should aid Spain in the reconquest of Spanish America. Torrens informed his government that Monroe's message had been praised by all the newspapers;⁶⁴ and in two of his dispatches he transmitted copies of newspapers containing the President's message.⁶⁵ In his instructions to Poinsett Secretary Clay asked that minister to "bring to the notice of the Mexican Government the message of the late President of the United States to their Congress on the 2d of December, 1823, asserting certain important principles of intercontinental law in the relations of Europe and America."⁶⁶ Accordingly, upon his reception by President Victoria, Minister Poinsett directed attention to Monroe's message as embodying a declaration by the United States that she would "not regard with indifference any attempt on the part of the powers of Europe" to wrest independence from the Hispanic-American nations. Yet this statement did not evoke from President Victoria any allusion to the Monroe Doctrine.⁶⁷ Poinsett soon informed Clay that Lucas Alamán, Mexican secretary of foreign relations, in a report to

⁶³ Robertson, "South America and the Monroe Doctrine, 1824-1828," in *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. xxx, pp. 96, 97.

⁶⁴ *La diplomacia mexicana*, vol. II, p. 67.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 71.

⁶⁶ *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, vol. vi, p. 579.

⁶⁷ Mr. Poinsett to Mr. Clay, June 4, 1825, enclosed a copy of his speech and of Victoria's reply in English, State Department MSS., Letters from Mexico, vol. I.

congress had declared that the policy of England was one of opposition to armed interference by "any sovereign or league of sovereigns" in the struggle between Spain and her former colonies; while of Monroe's message to Congress that secretary said, "very similar has been likewise the determination expressed by the President of the United States of America, in the discourse, with which he opened the session of the last Congress."⁶⁸ At the instance of Clay, in the autumn of 1825 the United States minister at Paris informed the French Government, which was suspected of entertaining hostile designs upon Cuba, that the United States could not agree to the occupation of that island by any other European power than Spain. In the following year, when the report was circulated in Mexico City that Clay had declared that the President could not take steps to protect the Hispanic-American states against European intervention without the support of Congress, the Mexican president publicly expressed his disappointment at that interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine.⁶⁹

The earliest mention of the Monroe Doctrine found in a South American journal was in *El Venezolano* of Caracas, January 10, 1824. On the front page of that newspaper there was printed a Spanish translation of Monroe's message which contained excerpts pertaining to European colonization or intervention in America. *El Venezolano* published an editorial on January 17, 1824, which characterized the message as a most interesting document for Venezuelans. The editor interpreted it to imply that the United States could scarcely follow a policy of strict neutrality, if the Spanish Government should be used as a shield to cover the designs of European states against the Hispanic-American nations. Another journal of Caracas, *El Colombiano*, also took notice of Monroe's message. On April 21, 1824, this newspaper printed a translation of that message which was introduced by a commentary entitled

⁶⁸ Mr. Poinsett to Mr. Clay, August 5, 1825, State Department MSS., Letters from Mexico, vol. I.

⁶⁹ Manning, "Statements, Interpretations, and Applications of the Monroe Doctrine and of more or less Allied Doctrines from 1823 to 1825," in *Proceedings of the American Society of International Law*, vol. VIII, pp. 43, 44, 49, 52.

the "Message of President Monroe" and signed "The Translator." This commentator denounced the right of intervention which was claimed by the Holy Alliance, "that hypocritical federation of sovereigns," and declared that the United States and Great Britain denied "this pretended right of intervention!"

President Monroe's message of December 2, 1823, seemed especially opportune to publicists in the capital of Great Colombia. Reports of that message reached Bogotá early in 1824. It was first brought to the notice of Colombians by an article in the *Gaceta de Colombia* on February 1, 1824, which published translations of significant excerpts from the message. Those excerpts were prefaced by an article which may have been written by Vice President Francisco de Paula Santander. The author of that article interpreted the President's message to be a formal announcement that the American continent was so "free and independent that henceforth it can not be made the theatre of colonization by any European power!"

Santander had just taken occasion to mention Monroe's message in his correspondence with Simón Bolívar. In a letter to Bolívar on February 6, 1824, in which he discussed the threat of intervention in the affairs of Spanish America by France on behalf of Spain, Santander interpreted Monroe's message to mean that the United States would prevent "the intervention of any power in the war between Spain and her former colonies!"⁷⁰ The news of Monroe's message evidently influenced Bolívar's thoughts concerning his cherished project to convene a congress of delegates from the Hispanic-American states upon the Isthmus of Panamá. Upon instructing the Peruvian delegates to that congress on May 15, 1825, he urged that they should induce this assembly to issue a proclamation exposing the designs of Spain against Spanish America, and announcing the policy which America proposed to pursue in her international relations. Bolívar maintained that this proclamation should contain "such an energetic and efficient declaration as that made by the President of the United States of America in his message to

⁷⁰ O'Leary, *Memorias del general O'Leary*, vol. III, p. 138.

Congress of last year in regard to the necessity for the European powers of abandoning all ideas of further colonization on this continent, and in opposition to the principle of intervention in our domestic affairs.”⁷¹

More than a year before Bolívar wrote those instructions, Monroe’s message had been given public notice by the government of Great Colombia. In his message to congress on April 6, 1824—a message which was published in the *Gaceta de Colombia* shortly afterwards—Vice President Santander mentioned Monroe’s message and declared:

The President of the United States has recently made his administration memorable by an act eminently just,—an act worthy of the classic land of liberty! In his last message to Congress he has declared that he will consider every act of intervention of any European power which aims to interfere with the destinies of the independent governments of America as the manifestation of a hostile disposition toward the United States! That government will consider any attempt on the part of the Holy Alliance to extend its system to any portion of the American hemisphere as perilous to the peace and safety of the new states!⁷²

A short time before Santander sent this message to congress, Secretary Gual had attempted to sound Minister Anderson regarding the scope and intent of Monroe’s message. For Gual conferred with Anderson about an expedition which he thought Spain was preparing for the subjugation of South America. The Colombian argued that—because of the “imbecility” of the motherland—the United States Government ought to deem any expedition fitted out by Spain as in reality supported by the Holy Alliance; and he maintained that no further evidence should be required “of that kind of interference contemplated by the President’s message.”⁷³ Rumors concerning French intervention in South America soon reached Minister Salazar in Washington. In a conference with Secretary Adams on July 1, 1824, Salazar suggested that Spanish-American independence was in danger: he declared that France had proposed to acknowl-

⁷¹ *International American Conference*, vol. iv, p. 171.

⁷² *Gaceta extraordinaria de Colombia*, April 27, 1824.

⁷³ Robertson, “South America and the Monroe Doctrine,” *loc. cit.*, vol. xxx, p. 87.

edge the independence of Great Colombia, if that republic would adopt a monarchical form of government. Because of Monroe's message of December 2, 1823, the policy which the United States should pursue toward the alleged intrigues of France became a topic for discussion between these two diplomats.

On July 2, 1824, Salazar addressed a note to Adams in which he interpreted the Monroe Doctrine to imply opposition to the employment of Spanish soldiers in America at a time when Spain was under the control of France. But Secretary Adams did not accept Salazar's views. Responding on August 6, 1824, he discredited the notion that France designed to aid Spain to recover her former dominions in America. Adams said that the sentiments of the President remained as "expressed in his last annual message to Congress" and declared that, if the crisis which then seemed to be approaching should actually be precipitated, the President would recommend Congress to adopt measures to carry out the Monroe Doctrine. In unmistakable words, however, Adams declared that the use of Spanish soldiers in America while Spain was under French influence was not a case justifying intervention by the United States.⁷⁴

Monroe's message of December 2, 1823, evidently did not attract much attention in Peru, although news of that message reached Lima in the following June.⁷⁵ Possibly a knowledge of the Monroe Doctrine influenced the Peruvian delegates to the Panama Congress to suggest in their project for an American confederation that the members of that league should never consent to foreign colonization in Spanish America.⁷⁶ There is no evidence to show that Monroe's message of December 2, 1823, attracted great attention in Chile. When Minister Allen was formally received in Santiago by Acting Supreme Director Errázuriz the latter indeed referred to that message as one of those measures of the United States Government which "had cheered all hearts."⁷⁷ On April 24, 1824, *El avisador*

⁷⁴ Robertson, "South America and the Monroe Doctrine," *loc. cit.*, vol. xxx, pp. 87-92.

⁷⁵ In the *Gaceta del gobierno*, June 26, 1824, is a translation of an excerpt from the *Aurora*, which refers to Monroe's message.

⁷⁶ Zubierta, *Congresos de Panamá y Tacubaya*, p. 70.

⁷⁷ Robertson, "The First Legations of the United States in Latin America," *loc. cit.*, vol. II, p. 201.

chileno took notice of the message. This newspaper quoted a brief excerpt from that state paper and described its principles as those of "a policy which was truly profound and farsighted."

The important message of President Monroe attracted more attention in Buenos Aires than in either Lima or Santiago. Certain excerpts from the message were published in Spanish in *La gaceta mercantil* of Buenos Aires on February 9, 1824. Nine days later, in a special number which was sent to all subscribers, that gazette published a Spanish translation of the entire message. The clause which announced the policy of the United States toward European colonization upon the American continent was printed in italics.⁷⁸ The message was likewise published on February 18 in *El argos de Buenos Aires y avisador mercantil*. That paper carefully translated those parts of the message which seemed significant. For the sake of emphasis it printed two clauses in italics: the clause which declared that the American continents were no longer to be considered as subject to colonization by a European power; and the clause which announced that the United States would consider as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward herself the interference of any European power with the independent nations of Spanish America.⁷⁹

The Doctrine of Monroe was soon officially noticed by the government at Buenos Aires. It seems that on February 16, 1824, Secretary Bernardino Rivadavia sent Spanish translations of that message to an envoy who had been sent on a mission to Chile, Peru, and Colombia.⁸⁰ Rivadavia also mentioned the Monroe Doctrine in his message to the congress of the United Provinces of la Plata on May 3, 1824, declaring that Minister Alvear had been instructed to suggest to the United States Government that it would be desirable to add to the two great principles, the abolition of privateering and the "the Non-European Colonization of American Territory," a declaration that

⁷⁸ *La gaceta mercantil*, February 18, 1824.

⁷⁹ Adapted from Robertson, "South America and the Monroe Doctrine," *loc. cit.*, vol. XXX, p. 98.

⁸⁰ Molinari, "Mito Canning y doctrina Monroe," in *Nosotros*, vol. XVII, p. 93, citing the Argentine archives.

"none of the new Governments of this Continent shall alter by force their respective Boundaries as recognized at the time of their emancipation."⁸¹

When Secretary Henry Clay wrote the instructions for John M. Forbes, who in 1825 was appointed chargé d'affaires of the United States at Buenos Aires, he called special attention to Monroe's message and directed Forbes to "urge upon the government of Buenos Aires, the utility and expediency of asserting the same principles on all proper occasions." When Forbes was formally received as chargé d'affaires of the United States by General Juan de las Heras, who had succeeded Rodríguez, he mentioned the Monroe Doctrine and declared that President Adams held the same views as Monroe. In 1826, after Bernardino Rivadavia became the first president of the Argentine Republic, he appealed to Forbes for advice in regard to the war between Argentina and Brazil, intimating that, as the emperor of Brazil was related to the Austrian dynasty, the Brazilian policy toward Argentina might be considered as interference by the Holy Allies in Spanish America. Rivadavia expressed the hope "that the President of the United States would feel much disposed to resist this combined influence" in South America. On August 24, 1826, Rivadavia's secretary of foreign affairs, Federico de la Cruz, addressed a note to Forbes asking two questions: first, whether Monroe's message could be applied to a case in which a European power might aid Brazil to wage war upon Argentina; and second, whether this message could be applied to a case in which Pedro I might attempt to bring from Portugal any aid for the prosecution of that war. When, on January 3, 1828, Secretary Clay made reply to those queries he stated that if the Monroe Doctrine were violated Congress would have to decide whether or not the United States would wage war. With regard to the armed conflict between Argentina and Brazil, however, Clay took the view that this war did not constitute a case under that doctrine; for it was a war "strictly American in its origin and its object."⁸²

⁸¹ *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. xi, pp. 803, 804.

⁸² Robertson, "South America and the Monroe Doctrine," *loc. cit.*, vol. xxx, pp. 101-4.

The policy of the United States toward Spanish America provoked a discussion about the recognition of the Spanish-American states in official circles in London. A short time after receipt of the news of Monroe's message of March 8, 1822, proposing the acknowledgment of Spanish-American independence, on June 24, 1822, a law was enacted modifying the navigation system of England so that vessels from Spanish-American countries were granted the same privileges that had been conceded to vessels from Brazil and from the United States.⁸³ This policy has been termed "commercial recognition." So far as that tentative action was due to the recognition policy of the United States, it was in accord with the wishes of President Monroe who had always desired that the acknowledgment of the independence of the Spanish-American nations by the United States should influence the leading nations of Europe to adopt similar measures.⁸⁴ Reports of Monroe's message of March 8, 1822, caused a sensation in Paris. The ensuing act of Congress must have convinced the French Government that it was necessary to consider seriously the recognition of the Spanish-American republics.⁸⁵ As early as October, 1822, the agents of certain European nations at the court of London asked Minister Rush "to which of the new states we had sent a minister."⁸⁶

News of the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine stimulated those Englishmen who championed the immediate recognition of the revolted Spanish colonies. In the House of Commons on February 3, 1824, Mr. Brougham welcomed the tidings and expressed hope that the English cabinet would neither be prevented by pride nor jealousy "from following so noble and illustrious an example."⁸⁷ On March 15, in the House of Lords, the Marquis of Lansdowne introduced a motion for an address to the king in favor of the immediate acknowledgment of the independence of the Spanish-American states.⁸⁸ Near the end

⁸³ *Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*, 3 George IV, cap. 43.

⁸⁴ Paxson, pp. 154, 155.

⁸⁵ Robertson, "The United States and Spain in 1822," *loc. cit.*, vol. xx, pp. 792, 793.

⁸⁶ Mr. Rush to Mr. Monroe, October 22, 1822, Monroe Papers, vol. xx.

⁸⁷ *Hansard's Debates*, new series, vol. x, p. 68. On this phase of the Monroe Doctrine see further, Robertson, "The Monroe Doctrine Abroad in 1823-24," in *American Political Science Review*, vol. v, pp. 546-51.

⁸⁸ *Hansard's Debates*, new series, vol. x, p. 970.

of 1824 George Canning expressed his intention to negotiate treaties with Great Colombia, Mexico, and the United Provinces of la Plata. Early in the following year he announced to the diplomatic corps in London the decision of his cabinet to recognize the Spanish-American states.⁸⁹ In accordance with Canning's instructions, on February 2, 1825, Woodbine Parish, the English consul at Buenos Aires, and Manuel J. García, secretary of foreign affairs for the United Provinces of la Plata, signed a treaty of amity and commerce on behalf of their respective nations.⁹⁰ At Bogotá on April 18 of the same year English commissioners and Colombian diplomats signed a treaty of amity and commerce.⁹¹ A similar treaty between England and Mexico was signed by representatives of those nations at London on December 26, 1826.⁹²

These significant measures could hardly have been without influence upon contemporaneous negotiations concerning the status of Brazil. In the acknowledgment of Brazil's independence by European nations the English Government, because of its ancient alliance with Portugal and because of its commercial interests, played an important rôle. On November 24, 1823, Carvalho e Mello signed instructions for Manuel Rodrigues Gameiro Pessoa and Felisberto Caldeira Brant, Brazil's agents to England. Those instructions directed the Brazilian envoys to negotiate for the formal recognition of Brazil's independence. They were carefully to explain the motives which impelled the Brazilians to declare their independence of Portugal; they were to state that revolts against the new regime would be suffocated, and were to adduce the example of Colombia which had been acknowledged as independent.⁹³

In a series of conferences which took place in London Caldeira Brant and Gameiro Pessoa maintained that the recognition of Brazil's independence by Portugal was a necessary preliminary to the negotiations, while the Portuguese minister in London,

⁸⁹ Paxson, pp. 243, 244.

⁹⁰ *Registro oficial de la república argentina*, vol. II, pp. 83-85.

⁹¹ *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. XII, pp. 661-71.

⁹² *Ibid.*, vol. XIV, pp. 614-29.

⁹³ Oliveira Lima, *O reconhecimento do imperio*, pp. 313-21.

Count Villa Real, held that the object of the negotiations was a reconciliation between Brazil and the motherland.⁹⁴ Various projects were framed for the adjustment of Brazil's future status. On the one side the Brazilian envoys proposed that the former Portuguese dominions should be divided into two monarchies, Brazil and Portugal, which should be ruled by Pedro I and John VI respectively. On the other side the Portuguese minister proposed that the ancient Portuguese Empire should be governed by John VI and his successors, that, although there should be only one monarch, Brazil and Portugal should have separate administrations and institutions, and that the ruling sovereign might reside in Portugal or Brazil as circumstances might require. Between the contending diplomats George Canning essayed to play the part of a conciliator. On August 9, 1824, Canning presented a compromise scheme. He proposed that there should be two divisions of the Portuguese monarchy; that John VI should assign to Pedro I all his rights in Brazil; and that Pedro I should renounce his succession, but not that of his descendants, to the Portuguese throne. This project of a treaty, however, did not effect a reconciliation.⁹⁵

At last the skillful diplomat, Sir Charles Stuart, was sent by the English Government on a mission to Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro. Meantime, on May 13, 1825, John VI—"King of the United Kingdom of Brazil, Portugal, and the Algarves"—issued a proclamation announcing that he recognized Brazil as an independent empire with an administration separate and distinct from the administration of Portugal.⁹⁶ On August 29, 1825, through the good offices of Charles Stuart, there was signed at Rio de Janeiro a treaty of peace and alliance between Pedro I, Emperor of Brazil, and John VI, King of Portugal. By this treaty Portugal acknowledged Brazil as an independent empire, and Pedro I was recognized as its emperor. Thus John VI formally relinquished his rights of sovereignty in America to Pedro I. Peace and amity were to prevail between Brazil and Portugal. No mention was made of the succession to the Portuguese throne. By a supplementary convention of the same

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 324, 328.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 338-44.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 360-63.

date the Imperial Government agreed to pay Portugal two million pounds to cover all demands for claims and indemnities. These treaties were ratified by Brazil on August 30, 1825, and by Portugal on November 15 of the same year.⁹⁷ Two years after the motherland sanctioned those treaties, a treaty of amity and commerce was ratified between England and Brazil.⁹⁸

The adoption of a decisive policy by the United States toward the nations of Hispanic America was more significant than appears at first sight because, unlike Portugal, Spain did not formally relinquish the sovereignty over her revolted American colonies for many years. According to her policy the United States persistently attempted to induce Spain to acknowledge the independence of the Spanish-American nations. In the instructions of Secretary Clay to Alexander H. Everett, minister to Spain, on April 27, 1825, that secretary declared that Spain ought to recognize the independence of her former colonies by "a formal pacification."⁹⁹ And, in instructions to Minister Middleton at St. Petersburg, Clay suggested that Russia should use her influence to persuade Spain to adopt a policy of recognition.¹⁰⁰ To the Spanish secretary of state, Francisco Zea Bermúdez, and to his successor, the Duke del Infantado, Minister Everett argued in favor of the recognition of the revolted colonies. After the death of King Ferdinand VII, Everett's successor, E. P. Van Ness, addressed a note to the new Spanish secretary of state, Martínez de la Rosa, declaring that the United States desired to facilitate an adjustment of the differences between Spanish America and Spain. On June 12, 1834, Martínez de la Rosa informed Minister Van Ness that the queen regent wished to end the family quarrel. A few months later the Spanish secretary of state assured Van Ness that his government was ready to enter into negotiations for a definite adjustment with commissioners from the Spanish-American republics.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Oliveira Lima, *O reconhecimento do imperio*, pp. 352-60; *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. XII, pp. 674-78.

⁹⁸ *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. XIV, pp. 1008-25.

⁹⁹ *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, vol. V, p. 794.

¹⁰⁰ Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. I, pp. 93, 94.

¹⁰¹ Robertson, "The Recognition of the Spanish Colonies by the Motherland," in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. I, pp. 71, 72.

To promote the recognition of those republics the United States tried to keep the leading nations of Spanish America informed of Spain's attitude toward her overtures. Upon receipt of the news that Spain wished to make a definite arrangement with her former colonies the secretary of state of the United States addressed a note to Spanish-American diplomats at Washington informing them of the significant change in Spain's policy with regard to recognition. That secretary also sent a similar communication to diplomatic agents of the United States at the capitals of Spanish-American countries transmitting the President's advice that those nations should dispatch commissioners to Madrid to initiate negotiations with the Spanish Government. The policy which the United States pursued in regard to the relations between Spain and her former colonies accordingly encouraged the negotiations that culminated in a treaty of peace and amity between Mexico and Spain which was signed on December 28, 1836. This was the first treaty by which Spain recognized a Spanish-American state. By a series of treaties that were negotiated between 1836 and 1895 Spain tardily acknowledged the independence of her former colonies upon the American continent.¹⁰² The good offices of the United States which promoted the negotiations that culminated in recognition were mentioned in grateful terms by some nations of Spanish America.

In reality the years from 1810 to 1830 constitute a distinct epoch in the diplomatic relations between the United States and the Hispanic-American nations. Throughout all the fluctuations of the patriot cause in Spanish America the United States displayed a keen interest in its fortunes. After the achievements of Iturbide, Bolívar, and San Martín—which indisputably established the independence of Mexico, Great Colombia, Argentina, Chile, and Peru—in accordance with President Monroe's message of March 8, 1822, Congress passed the law of May 4, which appropriated money for the establishment of diplomatic missions in certain Spanish-American countries,—an announcement of policy which was later used to justify the

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 73, 90, 91.

acknowledgment of Brazil's independence by the United States. Despite the protests of certain European monarchies, the United States proceeded to carry out her policy of recognition. By the official reception of Hispanic-American diplomatic agents at Washington, by the authorization of diplomatic missions from the United States to certain Hispanic-American nations, or by the grant of *exequaturs* to their consuls in the United States, that government acknowledged the independence of the new nations. In the course of years diplomatic missions were exchanged between the United States and the nations of Hispanic America. Aside from the fact that they considered the independence of the Hispanic-American nations to be established beyond dispute, in taking their momentous decision to recognize the independence of those nations Adams and Monroe were influenced by the idea that it was time for the United States to foster commercial and political relations with the new family of states; they were animated by the belief that the acknowledgment of Hispanic-American independence by the United States would encourage the Spanish-American patriots, and by the hope that this example might induce certain European powers to recognize the new nations.

Significant among circumstances which influenced certain important nations to take such action was the famous message of President Monroe. A cordial reception was given to the original Monroe Doctrine by distinguished leaders of Argentina, Brazil, and Great Colombia in the days of their fancied insecurity. At a critical juncture in their history those three nations actually suggested that the United States should guard their respective national interests by enforcing the Monroe Doctrine. On the one hand, the narrative has demonstrated that the publicists who guided the destinies of certain South American states during the heroic age of their national history could not justly claim that the United States showed a disposition to stretch the Doctrine of Monroe. On the other hand, this chapter has suggested that the policy which the United States Government pursued toward the Hispanic-American nations during the third decade of the nineteenth century—notably the policy of recognition

and the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine—had a favorable influence upon the attitude of certain European powers toward those nations. Thus it was that, reenforced by the position which England assumed toward Spanish-American independence, at a critical juncture in world politics the United States acted as a sponsor for the young nations of Hispanic America.

CHAPTER III

POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF THE UNITED STATES IN HISPANIC AMERICA

The influence of the United States upon the Spanish-American revolution—Vicente Rocafuerte disseminates United States political ideals—Mexico's Constitutions of 1824—Her later Constitutions—Central American Constitutions—Manuel García de Sena as a propagandist—Venezuela's Declaration of Independence and first Constitution—Later Venezuelan Constitutions—The translations of Miguel de Pombo—The Constitutions of New Granada—United States Constitutions in Peru—Camilo Henríquez in Chile—The Chilean Constitutions—North American political ideals in the Provinces of la Plata—The Uruguayan Constitution of 1830—Manuel Dorrego—Early Argentine Constitutions—Juan B. Alberdi and Argentina's Constitution of 1853—Paraguay's Constitution of 1870—Republican ideas in monarchical Brazil—The Brazilian Constitution of 1891.

The earliest political influence of the United States upon the Hispanic-American nations was exerted during the protracted Revolution which separated the Spanish-American colonies from the motherland. In that age of transition intellectual reactions between the United States and Spanish America began. We shall accordingly notice the participation of some citizens of the United States in the movements which culminated in the independence of the Spanish-American nations. That participation was promoted by certain revolutionary leaders: Aguirre, Carrera, Mina, and Miranda. During the kaleidoscopic transformations of the Spanish-American Revolution the Revolution of the English colonists in North America served as an inspiration to certain leaders.

Two illustrations must here suffice. In a rare pamphlet entitled *Lettre aux Espagnols-Américains*, which was written by Father Juan Pablo Viscardo y Guzmán, a Jesuit who had been exiled from South America, that priest said, "The valor with which the English colonists in America fought for the liberty that they gloriously enjoy shames our indolence; we yield the

palm to them as the first people in the New World who have been crowned in their independent sovereignty.”¹ A Spanish translation of this letter was distributed by Francisco de Miranda when his expedition landed in Venezuela in 1806.² In an article entitled the “Emancipation of Spanish America,” which this knight-errant of Spanish-American liberty published in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1809, he suggested that it was largely due to his participation in the North American Revolution as a captain in the Spanish forces which attacked Pensacola and the Bahamas that there originated in his mind the project of liberating his native land from the rule of her Spanish masters.³

When Francisco de Miranda visited the United States in the autumn of 1784 he met Alexander Hamilton, Henry Knox, and perhaps General Washington. To Hamilton and Knox Miranda certainly disclosed his plans for the liberation of his native land from Spanish rule. According to Hamilton’s own statement, the Venezuelan held several conversations with him about Spanish America. To judge by letters which Miranda subsequently sent to Knox, those two men held several conferences regarding South American emancipation. Yet there is not sufficient evidence at hand to justify the statement attributed to Miranda to the effect that he laid his revolutionary plans “before Generals Washington, Knox, and Hamilton, who promised him every assistance and gave him assurances of raising troops in the province of New England, provided he could persuade Great Britain to assist with her navy.”⁴

It is likely, however, that Hamilton and Knox dropped assurances which led the South American to believe that they would aid him in his ambitious design. For when Miranda had been selected in 1792 by leaders of the French Republic to direct an expedition which should revolutionize Spanish America from the base of Santo Domingo, he tried to interest General Knox in this plan.⁵ Five years later when he was pleading with

¹ Republished in Villanueva, *Napoleón y la independencia de América*, p. 318.

² Robertson, “Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America,” in *American Historical Association Report*, 1907, vol. I, p. 387.

³ “Emancipation of Spanish America,” in *Edinburgh Review*, vol. XIII, p. 286.

⁴ Robertson, “Francisco de Miranda,” *loc. cit.*, 1907, vol. I, p. 251.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 290, 291.

the English government to launch an expedition against Spanish America, Miranda strenuously attempted to engage Hamilton and Knox, as well as President Adams, in his revolutionary plans.⁶ A striking illustration of the participation of citizens of the United States in the Spanish-American Revolution was the enlistment in the United States of some two hundred men in the unsuccessful expedition which Miranda led against the coast of Venezuela in 1806.⁷ That participation was gratefully commemorated by the Venezuelan government in 1896 by a decree providing for the erection of a monument at Puerto Cabello in memory of ten North Americans who were captured there by the Spaniards and executed.⁸

High in the list of those foreigners who tried to promote the liberation of Mexico is the name of Xavier Mina, who had won a reputation as a brave guerrilla warrior in the Spanish struggle against Napoleon. After the restoration of Ferdinand VII in 1814, Mina fled from Spain to England; and in May, 1816, he left England for the United States. There he gathered recruits for an expedition against the Spanish royalists in Mexico. In the autumn of 1816 he sailed from Baltimore for the island of Santo Domingo; he then proceeded to Galveston, and thence, by way of Río Bravo del Norte, to Soto la Marina on the Mexican Gulf, where he effected a landing. When Mina began his ill-fated attack on Spanish rule in Mexico he had about three hundred comrades,—a number of these were evidently citizens of the United States.⁹

At the very time when Mina launched his expedition from Baltimore, there was in that port a Chilean who was seeking aid for the cause of South American independence. This was General José Miguel Carrera, who had arrived in the United States early in 1816, and assumed the title of commissioner of the government of Chile. By dint of energy, enthusiasm, and perseverance Carrera interested some citizens of the United

⁶ Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda," *loc. cit.*, 1907, vol. I, pp. 326-30.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

⁸ *Diario de Caracas*, February 20, 1896.

⁹ Alamán, *Historia de México*, vol. IV, pp. 425-37. For a brief description of the expeditions of Miranda and Mina, see Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics*, pp. 45-47, 111, 112.

States in his cause. Thus he was enabled to secure and equip on credit four vessels for service in the Chilean revolution. One of those vessels, the *Clifton*, carried almost a thousand muskets. Early in December, 1816, that vessel sailed from Baltimore for Buenos Aires. Exact figures concerning the number of citizens of the United States who sailed in Carrera's expedition are not at hand; but it appears that of thirty officials on board the *Clifton*, about six were "North Americans."¹⁰

Manuel Hermenejildo de Aguirre, who pleaded for the recognition of the United Provinces of la Plata with Secretary Adams, also undertook, as directed by instructions from the governments of Chile and la Plata, to purchase war vessels in the United States.¹¹ Through his efforts two armed vessels, the *Curiacio* and the *Horiaco*, bearing munitions were dispatched to South America¹²—vessels which ultimately joined Chile's squadron in the Pacific Ocean.¹³

Some adventurous citizens of the United States served with distinction in the Spanish-American struggles for independence. The scope of this work permits that only a few examples may be mentioned. A leader of Anglo-American guerrillas named John D. Bradburn acted as an intermediary in the negotiations between Guerrero and Iturbide near Iguala.¹⁴ Alexander Macauley joined the patriot forces in South America, participated in some of their victories in New Granada, but was captured by the royalists and shot at Pasto in 1813.¹⁵ The valuable naval services performed by Captain John D. Daniels during the revolution later induced the congress of Venezuela to grant him a pension.¹⁶ José M. Villamil—who had become a citizen of the United States by the annexation of Louisiana—played an important rôle in the revolt against Spanish rule in the presidency of Quito.¹⁷ In naval campaigns of Chile's war

¹⁰ Vicuña Mackenna, *El ostracismo de los Carreras*, pp. 80–92, and pp. 91, 92, n.

¹¹ Palomeque, *Orígenes de la diplomacia argentina*, vol. II, pp. 128–36; San Martín, *Documentos del archivo*, vol. VIII, pp. 184–88.

¹² San Martín, *Documentos del archivo*, vol. IV, pp. 601, 602.

¹³ For further details on Aguirre, see Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics*, pp. 195, 196.

¹⁴ Bustamante, *Cuadro histórico de la revolución mexicana*, vol. V, pp. 97, 99.

¹⁵ Chandler, *Inter-American Acquaintances*, p. 116.

¹⁶ *Cuerpo de leyes de Venezuela*, vol. I, p. 599.

¹⁷ *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, vol. XLVIII, pp. 24–27.

for independence Charles W. Wooster won glory as the commander of a frigate and subsequently became rear admiral of the Chilean navy.¹⁸ Signal though such achievements were, yet it would seem that the aid secured by Spanish-American revolutionists from the United States was less important than that obtained from England.

But those citizens of the United States who joined the insurrectionary armies made the Republic of the North seem like a living example to some Spanish Americans. Thus the influence of North American pamphlets and state papers was reenforced. As early as March 23, 1798, Pedro Carbonell, captain general of Venezuela, warned the government of Spain that a certain agitator named Juan Picornell was printing in the West Indies the "American Constitution" for distribution in the Spanish colonies.¹⁹

Although some of Hidalgo's companions had looked longingly to the North and had hoped to establish diplomatic relations with the United States, yet there appears to have been no definite attempt to disseminate her political ideals in Mexico during the early revolution. No trace of Jefferson's phraseology can be found in the earliest Mexican Declaration of Independence. But shortly after Iturbide had separated Mexico from Spain, Vicente Rocafuerte, an Ecuadorian who had played a minor rôle in the Mexican revolution, attempted to direct the political opinions of Mexican leaders from his asylum in the United States.

In a volume entitled *Ideas necesarias á todo pueblo americano independiente que quiero ser libre*, Rocafuerte published a translation of two sections of Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*, as well as a translation of the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the United States Constitution.²⁰ Rocafuerte's intention was evidently to spread in Spanish America a knowledge of the political ideals which were current in the United States. Portraying Philadelphia as "the asylum

¹⁸ *Gaceta de Buenos Aires*, December 3, 1818; Chandler, *Inter-American Acquaintances*, pp. 115-30.

¹⁹ Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda," *loc. cit.*, 1907, vol. I, p. 224.

²⁰ [Rocafuerte], *Ideas necesarias á todo pueblo americano independiente que quiero ser libre*, pp. 19-142.

of the oppressed, the center of light, a bulwark of liberty, and the inspiration of independence," he characterized the Declaration of Independence as "a veritable political decalogue" and the Constitution of the United States as "the only hope of an oppressed people!"²¹ In a booklet which he published in Philadelphia concerning Iturbide's revolution Roca fuerte thus expressed his views:

In order not to witness the tyranny which is about to oppress the delightful city of Mexico, I have abandoned the beautiful valley of Tenochitlan for the banks of the Potomac, upon whose shores is the sacred tomb of the centuries,—that of the great, the immortal Washington. Come, hither, oh valiant Mexicans to view his sacred ashes; and return to temper your souls in his countenance! This is the true oracle of virtue and liberty!²²

In the steps which preceded the adoption of the first Mexican constitution political ideas emanating from the United States exercised some influence. Stephen F. Austin, a Texan *empresario* who was in the capital of Mexico, became interested in the political reorganization of that country, and on March 29, 1823, he formed a project of a constitution for the republic of Mexico. At least part of this project was translated into Spanish, evidently for the use of Mexican leaders.²³ In the following May, Austin prepared another plan for a federal republican government in Mexico. He explained the origin of that plan in these words:

I condensed the principles of the Constitution of the United States in this plan and gave it to Ramos Arispe. . . . he told me he would send it to his friends—I believe that this plan had much influence in giving unity of intention and direction to the federal party. Arispe was the chairman of the committee who drew up the *Acta constitutiva* and a comparison of that *acta* with this plan will show a very striking similarity.²⁴

That is a plausible explanation of the formation of the "constituent act of the federation," or the provisional Constitution

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 11.

²² [Roca fuerte], *Bosquejo ligerísimo de la revolución de Méjico*, p. xi.

²³ Austin Papers, Miscellaneous.

²⁴ This plan was drawn up in May, 1823, at Monterey, *ibid.*

of Mexico, which was framed by a committee of the Mexican congress headed by Miguel Ramos Arispe, and was promulgated in Mexico City on January 31, 1824. The act contained some general provisions regarding the relations between the national government and the states which were clearly borrowed from the Constitution of the United States.²⁵ This provisional Mexican Constitution was obviously a channel through which federal ideas found their way into the Constitution for the United Mexican States, which was adopted by a constituent congress in Mexico City on October 4, 1824.

Mexico's Constitution of 1824 provided that the Mexican Federation should be made up of states and territories which should take the place of colonial administrative districts. The lower house of the national legislature was to be composed of members chosen for two years by the citizens of the states according to their respective population, while the senate was to be formed of members chosen by the legislatures of their respective states. Closely patterned after the Constitution of the United States were the provisions regarding the right of congress to judge its elections and to compel the attendance of its absent members. Several of the powers specifically granted to congress—such as the power to regulate commerce—were more or less similar to powers granted to the Congress of the United States. In spite of the President's disapproval a bill might become a law by a two-thirds vote of both houses. A president and a vice president, natural-born citizens, thirty-five years of age, elected by the legislatures of the states to serve for four years, should constitute the executive authority. Members of the Mexican Union were prohibited from imposing import or export duties and from maintaining an armed force or ships of war, without the consent of congress. They were also prohibited from entering into negotiations with other states of the Mexican Union.²⁶

When Minister Poinsett went to Mexico in 1825 he found

²⁵ *Colección de órdenes y decretos de la soberana junta provisional gubernativa y soberanos congresos generales de la nación mexicana*, vol. III, pp. 18-24; Alamán, vol. V, pp. 588, 589.

²⁶ *Colección de órdenes y decretos de la soberana junta provisional gubernativa y soberanos congresos generales de la nación mexicana*, vol. III, pp. 79-105.

established there lodges of the Scottish rite of Masons, who ordinarily favored a centralized regime and were sometimes monarchists. Soon after his arrival in Mexico City, Poinsett promoted the organization of a lodge of Masons of the York rite, helped to secure a charter for it from the grand lodge of New York, and even entertained those Masons in the legation. As the York rite Masons advocated a federal regime and looked with favor toward the United States, Poinsett was criticized by members of the Centralistic or Scottish rite party. In time, if not at once, the Masons engaged in political discussions at their lodge meetings; the York rite Masons secured control of the state of Mexico, and aimed to elect General Guerrero, the head of their party, to the presidency of the Mexican republic.²⁷

As a consequence of the political antagonism which ensued bitter attacks were made by individuals and by local governments upon the character and services of Poinsett, who stoutly declared that the sole purpose of his activities had been to promote Mexico's welfare.²⁸ The upshot was that—at the instance of the Mexican Government—Poinsett was recalled.²⁹ Possibly because of the unpleasant results of this episode, in May, 1830, Secretary of State Van Buren addressed a circular to the consuls of the United States in Mexico, Central America, and South America instructing them to refrain from interference with the political or local affairs of the respective states where they resided "in the smallest degree whatever," warning them to beware of enlisting "their feelings or sympathies upon the side of any of the political or sectional parties," and enjoining them not to publish observations "injurious" to the institutions or the publicists of those states.³⁰

It was probably through a knowledge of the Mexican Constitution of 1824 as well as by a direct study of the Constitution of the United States that, after fluctuations between centralistic

²⁷ Manning, *Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Mexico*, pp. 190-97; Alamán, vol. v, pp. 623-25.

²⁸ Manning, *Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Mexico*, pp. 193-204, 349-73. Poinsett's reply to an attack is in his *Exposición de la conducta política de los Estados Unidos para con las nuevas repúblicas de América*.

²⁹ Manning, *Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Mexico*, pp. 374, 375.

³⁰ "Notes and Documents: Documents Concerning the Consular Service of the United States in Latin America," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. II, p. 568.

and federalistic constitutions, Mexican statesmen framed the Constitution which on February 5, 1857, was promulgated as the political Constitution of the Mexican republic. The Constitution of 1857 established in Mexico a republic composed, as in 1824, of states and territories bound into a federal union. An article of this Constitution provided that each state should give full faith and credit to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the other states. Another article stipulated that the federal Constitution should be the supreme law of the land. Some of the other provisions—such as those concerning relations between the states—which in describing the Constitution of 1824 we noticed were directly or indirectly modelled upon the Constitution of the United States, reappeared more or less exactly in the Constitution of 1857. Among the articles in the Constitution of 1857 which were not drawn from the Constitution of 1824 was a provision regarding a federal district in which the capital should be located. In the Constitution of 1857 there was a marked increase in the powers granted to the president.³¹ After being modified both with regard to its written and unwritten law, the Constitution of 1857 was displaced after the downfall of President Díaz, by the Constitution of 1917.

The Constitution which Mexico adopted in 1917—after the triumph of the constitutionalist party led by General Carranza—possessed fewer resemblances to the United States Constitution than did the Constitution of 1824. Essential features of the provisions respecting the members of the senate and the house of representatives contained in the amended Constitution of 1857 were retained, except that the age of senators was raised to thirty-five years. With regard to the president an important provision which again appeared was the clause declaring that he should never be reelected. That clause of the Constitution of 1857 declaring that the Mexican federal Constitution was the supreme law of the land was repeated in the Constitution of 1917. Many clauses of that Constitution, such as those relating to the distribution of landed property and the social welfare

³¹ Rodriguez, *American Constitutions*, vol. I, pp. 39-96.

of citizens, were new stipulations which embodied reforms that had been championed by followers of Francisco Madero.³²

After the dissolution of the Mexican Empire, a constitutional assembly was convoked in the city of Guatemala. There on November 22, 1824, a Constitution was promulgated for the federal republic of Central America. By that Constitution the provinces of Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Salvador formed a Federation. The fundamental charter gave much executive authority to the president, legislative authority to a bicameral legislature, and the highest judicial power to a supreme court. Aside from the republican framework which it provided, influence emanating directly or indirectly from the United States Constitution may be detected in various phrases and clauses in the Constitution of the Federation of Central America.³³

After a troubled history of about fifteen years, this Federation was dissolved, and the five sections of Central America adopted distinct constitutions. Nevertheless, the ideal of a union, as exemplified by the United States, did not die out in Central America. Upon several occasions the government of the United States attempted to promote the reestablishment of a Central American union. Federalism has embodied the aspirations of some prominent Central American statesmen. Expressions of sentiment in favor of its reestablishment may be found in constitutions adopted by the distinct states of Central America after the disruption of the Federation.³⁴

Many changes have taken place in the constitutions of the Central American republics. For our purpose it will be sufficient to mention a few provisions of their recent constitutions. Costa Rica's Constitution adopted in 1871 shows evidence of having been influenced by North American phraseology. That Constitution provides that the president shall be elected by an electoral college. One of the powers conferred upon congress by this Constitution authorizes it "to secure for a

³² "The Mexican Constitution of 1917 compared with the Constitution of 1857," in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Supplement, May, 1917.

³³ *Constitución de la república federal de Centro-América dada por la asamblea nacional constituyente en 22 de Noviembre de 1824*, see especially pp. 1, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 20.

³⁴ Rodríguez, *American Constitutions*, vol. I, pp. 236, 300, 360.

limited time to authors or inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings or discoveries."³⁵ The declaration of rights and guarantees of the Constitution adopted by Salvador in 1886 contains an article declaring that no person shall be deprived of his life, liberty, or property except after a trial and that no person shall be prosecuted twice for the same offense.³⁶ In the Guatemalan Constitution of 1887, the provision concerning the enactment of a bill by congress despite the president's objections resembles the corresponding provision in the United States Constitution. A Constitution adopted by Honduras in 1904 provides that congress shall have the power to sanction, to modify, or to reject treaties negotiated with other nations.³⁷ Those provisions will suggest the widespread influence of the political ideals of the United States in Central America. Nevertheless with the exception of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, which subsequently established bicameral congresses,³⁸ at present the Central American republics have only one house of the legislature. Panamá's Constitution—which also provides for only one house of the legislature—reveals the direct or indirect political influence of the United States in occasional phrases, as in the preamble.³⁹ And, to a somewhat greater extent, the Constitution of Cuba, which provides for a bicameral legislature, manifests the prestige of the political ideals of the United States.⁴⁰

Translations from Thomas Paine's glowing pamphlet *Common Sense* were prepared for circulation in northern South America as early as 1810. A native of Venezuela, Manuel García de Sena, dedicated to his fellow-countrymen in that year a volume that contained translations of those passages from *Common Sense* which dealt with the "Origin and Design of Government in General, With Concise Remarks on the English Constitution," and with "Monarchy and Hereditary

³⁵ Rodríguez, *American Constitutions*, vol. I, p. 340.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 263. ³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 248 and 372, respectively.

³⁸ Wright, *Constitutions of the States at War, 1914-1918*, pp. 438 and 123, respectively.

³⁹ Rodríguez, *American Constitutions*, vol. I, pp. 392-422; for the amendment of 1917, see Wright, pp. 477-80.

⁴⁰ Rodríguez, *American Constitutions*, vol. II, pp. 112-48. The constitution adopted by the Dominican Republic in 1896 shows possible traces of influence from the United States. See *ibid.*, pp. 17, 23, 24, 26, 27.

Succession."⁴¹ In that volume there were likewise translated Paine's *Dissertation on First Principles of Government* and his *Dissertations on Government; the Affairs of the Bank; and Paper Money*.⁴² The translator declared that he dedicated his work to the Spanish Americans in order that they might use those translations to justify their conduct toward the government of Spain.⁴³

In a prefatory letter addressed to a certain person who was designated Ramón, Philadelphia, December 15, 1810, García de Sena asked that his volume should be presented to the provisional government of Venezuela. "The author, extracts from whose works I have translated literally into Spanish," said the propagandist, "was an English emigrant to the United States, who was the first person publicly to denounce oppression and to formulate maxims for the preservation of liberty from tyrants."⁴⁴ As García de Sena held that the political principles expressed by Paine, somewhat modified, lay at the basis of government in the United States, in addition to extracts from Paine's political writings, he translated and published the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States, as well as the constitutions of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.⁴⁵ García de Sena's labors were not without influence in northern South America; for some of his translations were republished in the *Gaceta de Caracas*.⁴⁶

By virtue of these translations, and in other ways, the main political concepts of the North American Revolution became known to political thinkers in northern South America during the revolutionary era. Obviously the patriots of Venezuela who were influenced by the example of the United States aimed to adopt their Declaration of Independence from Spain on July 4. That declaration, adopted on July 5, 1811, contains phrases which echo the memorable words of Thomas Jefferson.

⁴¹ García de Sena, *La independencia de la Costa Firma justificada por Thomas Paine treinta años ha*, pp. 9-67.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 33-154. ⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. v.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. iii. ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 157-288.

⁴⁶ *Gaceta de Caracas*, January 14, 1812, January 17, 1812. See further, *El observador caraqueño*, April 1, 1824.

Near the conclusion of the document is found the most striking similarity: "We, therefore, in the name of and by the authority which we have from the virtuous people of Venezuela, declare solemnly to the world that her United Provinces are and ought to be from this day, by fact and right, free, sovereign, and independent states."⁴⁷

When a congress was convoked in Caracas to frame a Constitution for Venezuela, the arguments which were presented by its members in favor of a federal system of government were evidently drawn in part from the history of the United States.⁴⁸ Unfortunately the records of that congress have not been handed down to us. But the trend of the debates upon the first Constitution of Venezuela was probably suggested in the remark of one of her leaders, J. G. Roscio, who said that there could be "little doubt of the advantages of the federal system," for those had been so "well proved by the experience of the United States."⁴⁹ In spite of the arguments of Bolívar and Miranda in opposition to federalism, on December 21, 1811, the Venezuelan congress adopted a Constitution which, in some respects, was modelled after the United States Constitution.⁵⁰

Venezuela's Constitution of 1811, containing two hundred and twenty-eight articles, vested the legislative power in a congress composed of a senate and a house of representatives. Members of the lower house were to be selected for four years by electors in each province. The senate was to be composed of members for the provinces elected by the legislatures thereof in proportion to their population. All laws regarding revenue were to originate in the lower house, but the senate was to have the right to sanction, to modify, or to reject such measures. In spite of the veto of the executive a bill could become a law, if both houses of congress passed it over his veto by a two-thirds majority. If the executive did not return a bill to congress within ten days after he had received it, exclusive of feast days, that bill should become a law, unless those days were at the end

⁴⁷ *El libro nacional de los Venezolanos*, p. 204.

⁴⁸ Poudenx and Mayer, *Mémoire pour servir à l'histoire de la révolution de la capitainerie générale de Caracas*, p. 59.

⁴⁹ *El publicista de Venezuela*, August 1, 1811.

⁵⁰ *El libro nacional de los Venezolanos*, pp. 371-422.

of a session. Both houses of congress were given the right to regulate their proceedings. Neither the house of representatives nor the senate might adjourn for more than three days without the consent of the other chamber. Without the consent of the other chamber neither the house nor the senate might meet in any other place than that in which both were in session. Unlike the Constitution of the United States, however, this Constitution vested the supreme authority in three persons. But certain of the powers granted to this plural executive resembled those conferred upon the President by the United States Constitution. Again, many of the clauses prohibiting certain actions by the Venezuelan executive were obviously modelled after corresponding provisions in the Constitution of the United States.⁵¹

The influence of that Constitution was not so noticeable in some of the constitutions which were subsequently framed for the government of Venezuela. This reaction was, in part, due to the influence of Bolívar the Liberator. In 1819 Bolívar argued that, in view of the differences between the people of the United States and the people of Spanish America, it would be difficult successfully to adopt the Constitution of the United States in Venezuela. He further maintained that the Venezuelans who framed the Constitution of 1811 had failed to include in their organic law that provision in the Constitution of the United States which was most worthy of emulation, that is to say, a single executive.⁵²

Still the Constitution of the United States was apparently not without some influence upon Bolívar. In the Constitution that he framed for Bolivia in 1826 the so-called electoral power was presumably adapted from the North American system. And in his message transmitting this Constitution to the Bolivian congress at Chuquisaca, Bolívar suggested that he had

⁵¹ Blanco, *Documentos*, vol. III, pp. 395-411.

⁵² *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 585-98. An examination of the constitution of Cúcuta, sanctioned for the Republic of Colombia by Bolívar on October 6, 1821 (see Pombo and Guerra, *Constituciones de Colombia*, vol. II, pp. 721-59; Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics*, pp. 246, 247), shows that although a republican framework was retained in 1821, yet the legislators at Cúcuta had been much less influenced by the Constitution of the United States than the legislators at Caracas in 1811.

endowed the president in his project with some of the powers of the United States President and that, in providing for the succession to the presidency, he had been influenced by the fact that in the United States the secretary of state had sometimes become President.⁵³

The constitutional history of Venezuela has been in considerable part a struggle between the federal system and the centralistic principles championed by Simón Bolívar. After the disruption of Great Colombia, a constituent congress at Valencia framed a Constitution for Venezuela which was a compromise between these two contrasted types. In 1864 the Venezuelans again adopted a federal scheme of government which became the charter of twenty "sovereign" states composing the "United States of Venezuela." Ten years later that Constitution was replaced by another; and in 1904, after other changes, the Venezuelans again adopted a federal "compact" for a republic composed of thirteen "autonomous" states. A number of articles in that Constitution respecting interstate comity and the relations between the states and the national government were very similar to corresponding provisions in the Constitution of the United States. Even stronger pledges in regard to the rights of the states than those in the North American Constitution were embodied in certain articles. Article CIII of Venezuela's Constitution declared that whatever powers were not expressly granted to the national government should belong to the states—a Venezuelan version of the American doctrine of the reserved rights of the states. According to this Constitution, all acts of the national government which violated rights guaranteed to the states or impaired their autonomy were to be declared void by the federal supreme court.⁵⁴

After the downfall of President Castro in 1908, a movement took place to promote the formation of a new constitution; and on August 5, 1909, another Constitution was promulgated.

⁵³ Blanco, vol. x, p. 344. In Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics*, especially pp. 230-33, 235-41, 291-96, 303, will be found quotations from Bolívar's writings illustrating his political ideas and also a description of the Bolivian constitution of 1826.

⁵⁴ Rodríguez, *American Constitutions*, vol. II, pp. 195-227.

Although, like other Spanish-American constitutions which have been adopted since the revolutionary era, that federal Constitution showed traces of French influence, yet in some particulars, as in the provisions concerning the autonomous and equal states, the provision prohibiting a tax upon exports, and the provision respecting the mode of electing senators, it suggested that some influence had been exerted upon its framers by the political ideals of the United States.⁵⁵ And in the existing Constitution of Venezuela, which was promulgated on June 13, 1914, there are articles which show traces of influence emanating from the United States Constitution. That influence is shown in the article prohibiting the states of the union from levying import or export duties, in the article declaring that each state should give entire faith to the public acts and judicial proceedings of the other states, and in the article prohibiting any state from coining money or issuing bills of credit. Such influence is also shown in certain provisions regarding the national congress: the provision that neither house of congress should change its place of meeting without the consent of the other house; and the provision that a congressman should not be held responsible in any other place for opinions which he might express in congress.⁵⁶

As the territory included in colonial days within the viceroyalty of New Granada was, for a period of years, included with Venezuela in Great Colombia, and as it was almost equally subject to influences from the United States, its constitutional history presents points of identity or resemblance with that of Venezuela. A most striking illustration of the propaganda for North American political ideals in South America during the revolutionary era is found in the work of Miguel de Pombo of New Granada.

In 1811 Pombo made Spanish translations of the Constitution of the United States, the Declaration of Independence, and the Articles of Confederation, and printed them at Bogotá in a booklet of some two hundred pages. As a preface to those

⁵⁵ *Constitución de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela sancionada por el congreso nacional en 1909*, pp. 8, 10, 26.

⁵⁶ *Constitución de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela sancionada por el congreso de diputados plenipotenciarios de los estados en 1914*, pp. 9, 11, 14, 22.

translations Pombo published "A Preliminary Discourse upon the Principles and Advantages of the Federal System." When he described the North American Revolution in that preface Pombo spoke of the people of the United States breaking the chains which had been forged by England and assuming among nations that place to which they were called by God and by nature. He declared that the "crowned tigers" of Europe, because of the evils which they had committed, beheld the creation of the United States "with a silence which was mixed with fear, at the same time that philosophers and defenders of humanity, admiring the achievements of valor and the enchanting power of liberty, predicted the inevitable influence which the heroic and glorious Revolution in North America was destined to exert upon the fate of the people of the Old World and the New. . . . Never has a grander interest occupied the attention of nations. It is not the interest of a city, or of a province: it is that of an immense continent, and of a large part of the globe! It is not simply the cause of a people or of a kingdom: it is the cause of all mankind! A day, a single day, has transported us into a new century:—a century of fear for vulgar souls; of surprise and horror for tyrants; a century of liberty for a great nation, and of hope for all the earth!"⁵⁷ These excerpts demonstrate that the political philosophy of Miguel de Pombo had been profoundly influenced by Thomas Paine.

After briefly reviewing the Revolution in Spanish America, Pombo declared that that vast region had recovered its liberty and would soon declare its absolute independence of Spain. Then he discussed the political measures which the Spanish-American patriots should take. Pombo did not recommend the adoption in New Granda of a monarchical system of government; for he felt that monarchs had been the most terrible scourges of the human race. He asked a trenchant question and formulated his answer in the following words:

What then is that nation which we ought to imitate? that nation whose Constitution may serve us as a model? That nation is upon our

⁵⁷ Pombo, *Constitución de los Estados Unidos de América*, pp. i, ii, vi.

own continent! It is the people of the United States; those people, who according to a European political philosopher, Dr. Price, are the first people upon the globe that are entitled to the distinguished honor of having established a form of government favorable to universal liberty, and to whom one will some day be able to apply with greater justice the remark once made concerning the Jews: that in them all the peoples of the earth have been blessed! Accordingly, to the people of the United States, to that people of philosophers, as Brissot designated them, has been reserved the glory of transmitting to South America the principles of their representative government, and the type of wise Confederation adopted by all their states. . . . Theirs is the wise Constitution which, designating with clarity and precision the powers which are reserved to each state and those which are delegated to the general government, has drawn the difficult line of separation between the rights which it is necessary to sacrifice, and the rights which it is possible to preserve. . . . That Constitution has promoted the happiness of our brothers of the North and will promote our happiness also, if we imitate their virtues and adopt their principles. . . . Hasten to ratify the act of federation which has been formed by the first convention which we have held upon that subject! This first monument of your liberty and your glory is based upon the wise model afforded by the North American Confederation. . . .⁵⁸

A Constitution adopted by certain revolutionists of the viceroyalty of New Granada in March, 1811, shows clearly that its authors had studied the Constitution of the United States. This transitional Constitution, promulgated in the province of Cundinamarca, presents a curious mingling of democratic and monarchical ideas. In the first article of this Constitution the delegates of Cundinamarca expressed the hope that it would be a bulwark against despotism and a guarantee of the imprescriptible rights of citizens, "assuring domestic tranquillity, providing a defense against foreign attacks, promoting the general welfare, and assuring forever the unity, integrity, liberty, and independence of the province."⁵⁹ Other clauses, such as the provisions regarding the procedure when the president of the province vetoed an act of congress, contained further indica-

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. vi.

⁵⁹ Pombo and Guerra, *Constituciones de Colombia*, vol. I, p. 74.

tions of North American influence.⁶⁰ But this was merely a constitution for one province of the revolted viceroyalty.

Another Constitution adopted by certain revolutionists of New Granada in November, 1811, showed that they had adopted the federal principle to regulate the relations between the provinces of the former viceroyalty. That Constitution, which was designated "the Act of Federation of the United Provinces of New Granada," did not present many resemblances with the United States Constitution, although it did attempt to apportion governmental powers between the central government and the provinces in a manner that at certain points vaguely suggested the North American model.⁶¹ Upon promulgating the "Political Constitution of the Granadan Confederation" in 1858 the congress of New Granada announced that the revolution initiated in 1810 had just terminated. Scattered through that Constitution were articles, such as those concerning the rights reserved to the states, concerning interstate comity, concerning the privileges of senators and representatives in congress, concerning the president's veto power, and concerning his message to congress which suggested the mild influence of North American constitutional precedents.⁶² Yet even this Constitution of 1858, which perhaps exemplified the greatest influence exerted by federalism in New Granada, fell far short of suggesting the influence of the United States Constitution to such an extent as the constitutions of some other Hispanic-American states.

At present little material is available for the study of the institutional history of Ecuador. Some traces of influence which possibly emanated from the United States can be found in the Ecuadorian Constitution of 1897, especially in the clauses regarding impeachment.⁶³ That influence may have been exerted, however, through other constitutions of South America.

The Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776, appears to have exerted little or no influence in Lima. Peru's Proclamation of Independence—framed at the instance of San

⁶⁰ Pombo and Guerra, *Constituciones de Colombia*, vol. I, pp. 73, 74, 91.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 154-83.

⁶² *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 1059-88.

⁶³ Rodriguez, *American Constitutions*, vol. II, pp. 285-87.

Martín and announced by him—contains no trace of Jeffersonian phraseology.⁶⁴ In various constitutions that were formed in Peru during the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century, aside from certain general provisions, such as those concerning the president and the senate, which may have been patterned after other South American constitutions, there is little evidence to indicate that Peruvian statesmen consciously modelled their constitutions upon that of the United States.

A provision which suggests a North American model is found in Peru's Constitution of 1828. This Constitution provided that if the president failed to return to congress within ten days a law which it had approved, the law should be considered in force unless that failure should happen at the end of a session of congress.⁶⁵ There is newspaper evidence which shows that some intellectual leaders of Peru had actually studied North American constitutions. In 1833 *La verdad* of Lima discussed the adoption of a new Peruvian constitution. But its editor did not look with favor upon the federal Constitution of the United States. "Among modern constitutions," said he, "those which most attract our attention belong to the United States of America: not the federal Constitution, for that is in nowise suitable; but those constitutions which the states adopted in virtue of the act of Congress of May 15, 1776. Foremost among these masterpieces of human reason is the constitution of Pennsylvania which may be considered the quintessence of republicanism! In that constitution the benefits which man may receive at the hands of the law are guaranteed in the most secure manner, and the limits of each power as well as the functions of every authority are determined with the most rigorous exactitude!"⁶⁶

In Bolivia, as in Ecuador, such clauses in the existing constitution which suggest North American constitutional precedents may reflect the influence of other South American countries rather than that of the United States.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ San Martín, vol. XI, pp. 363-75.

⁶⁵ Oviedo, *Colección de leyes, decretos y órdenes publicados en el Perú desde el año de 1821 hasta 31 de Diciembre de 1859*, vol. I, p. 84.

⁶⁶ *La verdad*, March 5, 1833.

⁶⁷ Rodriguez, *American Constitutions*, vol. II, pp. 422, 425, 427, 428, 434.

The story of the political influence exercised by the United States in Chile during the revolutionary epoch centers around the figure of Camilo Henríquez, a learned monk who was steeped in French philosophy. On January 16, 1812, the provisional government of Chile issued a decree providing that Henríquez should act as editor of a periodical which it had decided to establish.⁶⁸ Under his direction, on February 13, 1812, the first number of the *Aurora de Chile* was issued from a press that had recently arrived from North America. In that periodical, which was published regularly at Santiago until the downfall of the first patriot government in April, 1813, the editor discussed the Revolution which had resulted in the establishment of the United States. "The sacred fire of liberty once lit upon this continent," said Henríquez, "will traverse and vivify the most remote parts of the earth."⁶⁹

From time to time Henríquez printed in his journal Spanish translations of the political literature of the United States. In an editorial of June 4, 1812, he published an excerpt from *Common Sense*. Before the end of that year he also printed in this journal his own translations of Washington's farewell address and Jefferson's first inaugural.⁷⁰ Under date of July 16, 1812, the *Aurora de Chile* contained a patriotic hymn composed by the editor which apparently had been sung at a banquet that was held to celebrate the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of the United States. Chanting in this hymn of "the illustrious country of Washington extending her arms to the vigorous South," Henríquez sang poetically of "all the countries of the New World uniting in a perpetual confederation." Henríquez likewise eulogized the independence of the United States in a Latin composition, which he translated into Spanish.⁷¹ The propaganda of Camilo Henríquez in Chile during the early revolutionary movement against Spain prompted his erudite Chilean biographer, Miguel Luis Amunátegui, to say that Henríquez admired the United States which

⁶⁸ *Aurora de Chile*, introducción, p. 111.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, October 8, 1813.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, December 10, December 17, and November 12, 1812.

⁷¹ Amunátegui, *Camilo Henríquez*, vol. II, pp. 264, 265.

he considered "as a model, as an inspiration, as a hope—the Capitol of Liberty!"⁷²

It was doubtless partly due to the activities of Henríquez that there appeared a group of men who favored the establishment in Chile of a governmental system modelled somewhat upon the government of the United States. One of the most influential of those leaders was José Miguel Infante, who in 1826 submitted to the congress of Chile a federal constitution, which, according to his biographer, he had "plagiarized with little shame and no discretion from the Constitution of the United States."⁷³ In that congress, on July 6, 1826, when the proposed constitution was being discussed, Infante said: "It is with pleasure that I have heard certain members speak in favor of the federal system. Federalism is indeed the only system capable of insuring the prosperity of the republic."⁷⁴ Upon several occasions during the discussions over the Chilean constitution Infante referred to the example furnished by the United States.⁷⁵ On July 14, 1826, the president of the Chilean republic proclaimed that congress had decreed that "the republic of Chile should be constituted according to the federal system."⁷⁶ Thus a so-called federal Constitution was promulgated for Chile that divided the country into eight provinces, each of which was to be administered by a popular assembly and a governor.⁷⁷

However, the Constitution of 1826 did not operate so successfully as its advocates had expected. A new Constitution was soon promulgated. Chile's Constitution of 1828 was perhaps slightly less federal than that of 1826. According to the "Political Constitution of 1828," as it was designated, Roman Catholicism was declared to be the state religion "to the exclusion of the public exercise of any other religion"—a declaration which showed that the Conservative party had triumphed. Executive authority was vested in a president, a vice president, and, in case of the illness or death of the chief executive, in three

⁷² *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 93.

⁷³ Santa-Maria, *Vida de don José Miguel Infante*, p. 104.

⁷⁴ Letelier, *Sesiones de los cuerpos legislativos de la república de Chile*, vol. XII, p. 56.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 87, 98, 103, 234.

⁷⁶ *Boletín de las leyes, órdenes i decretos del gobierno*, vol. I, p. 401.

⁷⁷ Anguita, *Leyes de Chile*, vol. I, p. 171.

ministers who should be chosen by the president himself. Selected by electors chosen by popular vote in the provinces, the president should hold office for five years and could not be immediately reelected. Legislative authority was granted to a congress composed of two houses, a senate and a house of representatives. Members of the lower house were to be elected directly by the people, while the senators were to be elected by provincial assemblies. Somewhat more federalistic were the provisions concerning local government. Each provincial assembly, which was composed of members chosen by direct, popular vote, had the power to elect senators and also the right to nominate to the president persons for appointment to such offices as the intendant of the province. The provinces were divided into departments, in each of which a council elected by popular vote was to select the governor who should hold office for two years. Final judicial authority was vested in a supreme court. It is clear that this Constitution had some similarity to the Constitution of the United States.⁷⁸

Although some of the provisions in the Chilean Constitution of 1828 concerning individual rights resembled provisions in bills of rights of North American constitutions, yet it is an exaggeration to say, as a Chilean did, that the Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776, furnished an eloquent commentary upon the provision concerning individual rights in Chile's Constitution of 1828.⁷⁹ But even in the Chilean Constitution of 1833—which was distinctive among Hispanic-American constitutions because of its provisions that made possible the development of a system of cabinet government resembling that of England—there was a suggestion of influence emanating, directly or indirectly, from the Constitution of the United States. Perhaps the best illustration of this influence was the provision concerning the procedure to be followed by the houses of congress in the impeachment of national officials—a procedure which was similar to that provided for such cases by the United States Constitution.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Anguita, vol. I, pp. 180-89.

⁷⁹ *El constituyente*, June 13, 1828.

⁸⁰ Rodriguez, *American Constitutions*, vol. II, pp. 217, 218.

Early in the nineteenth century a knowledge of the political ideals of the United States became known to certain persons who were directing the revolutionary movement in the viceroyalty of la Plata. In an article in the *Gaceta de Buenos Aires* in 1810 Mariano Moreno—the soul of the early revolution in that city—quoted from Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* concerning the organization of the American Indians to illustrate the use of the federal principle. Moreno described the government of the United States as a federation of several sovereign states which were united into one nation. Although he declared that this form of government was perhaps the best which had been evolved by man, yet he expressed the opinion that it would be difficult to apply such a system to Spanish America.⁸¹ In a much discussed “Plan of Operations” which has been ascribed to Moreno, the author mentioned with admiration the political achievements of President Washington:

Where, Oh noble and grand Washington, are the lessons of your politics? Where are the rules which guided you in the construction of your great work? Your principles and your system would be sufficient to guide us:—lend us your genius so that we may accomplish the results which we have contemplated!⁸²

In 1813 one of Moreno's distinguished compatriots, Manuel Belgrano, made a Spanish translation of an important state paper. Speaking of Washington, Belgrano said:

His farewell address fell into my hands in the year 1805. I confess, in truth, that in spite of my lack of discernment, I saw in his maxims the expressions of wisdom based upon experience and upon the constant observation of a man who had dedicated himself whole-heartedly to the liberty and happiness of his country. But as I beheld my country in chains, I was filled with a just anger; for I saw the impossibility of breaking those chains. Still I consoled myself with the thought that some of my fellow countrymen might read this address: either that upon some occasion they might profit by it if the Almighty gave them an opportunity; or that some day they might hand it down to their sons so that it might aid them, if at any time they had the fortune of

⁸¹ *Gaceta de Buenos Aires*, December 6, 1810.

⁸² Moreno, *Escritos*, pp. 456, 457. On Moreno's political ideas see further, Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics*, pp. 153-64.

being able to labor for the emancipation of Spanish America. . . . I only ask the government, my compatriots, and all persons who hope for the happiness of America, that they do not allow this pamphlet to pass from their hands: that they read it, study it, meditate over it; and that they strive to imitate Washington in order that they may ultimately attain the end to which we aspire of constituting ourselves a free and independent nation!⁸³

Even before Belgrano's translation of Washington's farewell address was published at Buenos Aires, some knowledge of the political ideals of the United States had penetrated the South American continent so far as the distant capital of Paraguay.⁸⁴ Among the inherited papers of Fernando de la Mora, an influential member of the revolutionary *junta* that was set up at Asunción in 1811, there is still preserved a fragment of a Spanish translation of the United States Constitution which bears the date of February 14, 1813.⁸⁵ That fragment—which deals with interstate relations—is evidence that this Paraguayan was acquainted with certain features of the North American federal system at the juncture when Paraguay was separating from Spain.

It seems quite possible that early in 1813 a Spanish translation of the entire United States Constitution was in the possession of prominent leaders of the Paraguayan revolution. Only upon the assumption that such documents as the Constitution of the United States, the constitutions of certain states belonging to that Union, and the Articles of Confederation were available to certain revolutionary leaders in southern South America, or to their advisers, can a satisfactory explanation be made of the spread of federal ideas in that region during the early revolutionary era.

A pertinent example of the influence of the political ideals of North America is found in the revolutionary annals of *la Banda Oriental*—the region later designated as Uruguay. On April 13, 1813, in his camp before Montevideo, José Artigas signed

⁸³ Belgrano, *Despedida al pueblo de los Estados Unidos el 17 de Setiembre de 1796*, introducción, pp. 3-6.

⁸⁴ Artigas, *Artigas*, p. 73.

⁸⁵ Papeles de Fernando de la Mora.

the instructions of five delegates from *la Banda Oriental* to a constituent assembly which had been convoked in the city of Buenos Aires. His delegates were directed to urge that assembly to adopt a declaration of independence from Spain. Their instructions proposed that the provinces of the vice-royalty of la Plata should form an independent confederation. Each of those provinces should be allowed to organize its own government, while the central government should carry on only the general business of the state. Article X, which described the proposed federation as "a firm league of friendship," was, with only a slight modification, a translation of Article III of the Articles of Confederation of the United States. The following article declared that *la Banda Oriental* should retain its "sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not expressly delegated by the confederation to the United Provinces in congress assembled." This is a translation of Article II of the Articles of Confederation. Article XIV of the instructions provided that "no tax or duty should be laid upon products exported from one province to another; nor should any preference be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one province over those of another; nor should vessels destined from this province to another province be obliged to enter, anchor, or pay duties in another." That article is a translation of certain provisions of Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution of the United States.⁸⁶

Although it is doubtful whether José Artigas was the sole author of those instructions, yet such striking adaptations of certain provisions of the Articles of Confederation and the United States Constitution support the statement attributed to that Uruguayan leader when he was living in exile to the effect that he had taken the United States as his model of governmental organization.⁸⁷ As the instructions of 1813 became

⁸⁶ Artigas, pp. 168, 169. A comparison of these instructions with North American constitutional precedents has been made in Miranda, *Las instrucciones del año XIII*, chap. XIII, also p. 239.

⁸⁷ De-María, *Compendio de la historia de la república o. del Uruguay*, vol. IV, p. 121. The authorship of the instructions is discussed by Miranda, *Las instrucciones del año XIII*, pp. 8, 27, 423-61.

known to various revolutionary leaders in the former viceroyalty of la Plata, knowledge of the federalistic ideals which were championed by Artigas was spread.

Strange though it may seem, the constituent assembly which met at Montevideo in 1829 to frame a constitution for the Oriental Republic of Uruguay did not adopt a federal system of government. Uruguay's first Constitution, which—after being approved by Argentina and Brazil—was promulgated in 1830, established a "unitary," or centralistic, republic. Of that republic the main subdivision was not a state but an administrative area known as the department. A political chief who was to be placed in the capital of each department in the capacity of governor should be appointed by the president. Still, there were various provisions in the Uruguayan Constitution of 1830 which showed that, consciously or unconsciously, its framers had been influenced by the United States Constitution. The upper house of the bicameral legislature, composed of senators chosen by indirect election from the departments for six years and renewable by thirds every two years, was to try national officials who might be impeached by the house of representatives. Each house was made the judge of the elections and the conduct of its members. Congress could pass a bill over the president's veto by a two-thirds vote. A bill which was not returned by the president to congress within ten days should become a law.⁸⁸

José de San Martín did not favor the introduction of the federal system into Spanish America. Perhaps the clearest expression of opinion by San Martín with regard to a federation was made in a letter to an intimate friend, Tomás Godoy Cruz, in February, 1816. In that letter San Martín declared that he felt as though he might die whenever he heard his fellow-countrymen speak of adopting a federal system of government. He animadverted upon their tendency to consider the Republic of the North as an example for South America, pointing out that even in a long settled country like the United States with a firmly established government there were many difficulties

⁸⁸ Rodríguez, *American Constitutions*, vol. II, pp. 158-83.

which arose under the federal system during the war of 1812.⁸⁹ He thought that conditions in South America were not ripe for the introduction of the federal regime. Instead he favored the establishment there of monarchical governments.⁹⁰ While San Martín resided in the former viceroyalty of la Plata he accordingly attempted to counteract the influence of those compatriots who wished to imitate the United States.

The Declaration of Independence of the United Provinces of la Plata which was adopted by a congress at Tucumán on July 9, 1816, contained only a few suggestions of the ringing words of the Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776.⁹¹ In the Constitution promulgated for those provinces on April 22, 1819, however, there were several articles which showed that its framers had been influenced—directly or indirectly—by North American example. Article XXVII of the Constitution of 1819, respecting the freedom of speech of senators and representatives in their respective houses, was obviously modelled upon the corresponding provision in the Constitution of the United States. Those articles dealing with the president's veto power and with the passage of an act over his veto were clearly borrowed from that Constitution. The article relating to the salary of the president had evidently been composed in light of the constitutional restriction upon an increase or decrease of the salaries of certain federal officials in North America.⁹²

Federalistic ideals were more widely disseminated in the basin of la Plata River by the activity and journalistic productions of Manuel Dorrego, who, exiled from the United Provinces of la Plata in November, 1816, had had his belief in such ideals confirmed by a sojourn of a few years in the United States.⁹³ With a mind enriched by memories of his experiences in that republic Dorrego frequently cited North American precedents in a constituent congress which at Buenos Aires in 1826 framed a constitution for the Argentine Republic.⁹⁴ But his pleas in

⁸⁹ San Martín, vol. v, p. 532.

⁹⁰ Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics*, pp. 202, 205, 206, 215, 258, 259.

⁹¹ *Registro oficial de la república argentina*, vol. 1, p. 366.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 387.

⁹³ Pelliza, *Dorrego en la historia de los partidos unitario y federal*, pp. 189, 195, 196, 272, 313.

⁹⁴ Dorrego, *Dorrego, tribuno y periodista*, pp. 104, 105, 106, 111, 118, 143, 144, 167.

favor of a federal regime patterned after that of the United States, which he styled "the classic land of liberty,"⁹⁵ were not completely successful; for that constituent congress promulgated a Constitution, which, so far as the relations between the national government and the provinces were concerned, was centralistic and not federalistic in its character.

Still some articles in the Argentine Constitution of 1826 showed traces of doctrines derived from the Constitution of the United States. The house of representatives was given the exclusive right to initiate taxes, while the senate was given the right to modify such proposals. To the lower house was also given the sole right to prefer charges to the senate against high federal officials. No person might be impeached by the senate without the concurrence of two-thirds of its members. An impeached official should remain subject to trial and punishment according to law. There was an article stipulating that the supreme court should have original jurisdiction in all disputes to which a province might be a party, in disputes between one province and another, and in disputes between citizens of the same province regarding boundaries. That court was also to have jurisdiction over disputes involving foreign ambassadors, ministers, consuls, or other diplomatic agents. Among the general provisions was an article which stipulated that no citizen might be imprisoned or punished without legal trial and sentence.⁹⁶ As there was violent opposition to this Constitution *El mensajero argentino* appropriately published a translation of the remarks made by Benjamin Franklin in the Philadelphia Convention just before signing the Constitution to the effect that there were certain parts of it which he did not at that moment favor, but that he was not certain that he would always disapprove of them, because in the course of a long life he had frequently been obliged to change his opinion upon important matters. Thus did that journal direct the attention of the opponents of the Argentine Constitution of 1826 to the imperative need of concession and compromise.⁹⁷ Dorrego con-

⁹⁵ Dorrego, p. 170.

⁹⁶ *Registro oficial de la república argentina*, vol. II, pp. 163-70.

⁹⁷ Lamas, Rivadavia, pp. 283, 284.

tinued to champion federalism through the columns of his journal, *El tribuno*.⁹⁸

The influence of North American political ideals in southern South America was also illustrated by the writings of Juan Bautista Alberdi, Argentina's much discussed political philosopher. During his interesting career as a student Alberdi became acquainted with the writings of publicists of the United States; in an autobiographical sketch he included in a list of his favorite writers Judge Story and the authors of *The Federalist*.⁹⁹ Alberdi—who seems to have had only a slight knowledge of English—apparently became acquainted with Story's *Commentaries on the Constitution* and *The Federalist* through French editions of those works.¹⁰⁰ It is also possible that he increased his knowledge of the political ideals of North America during his residence in Chile; for gold hunters on their way to or from California occasionally sojourned in Valparaiso; and a Spanish edition of the constitution of California was published there in 1850.¹⁰¹

Ample proof of the influence of United States constitutional doctrines upon Alberdi is found in his project of a constitution for the Argentine Republic, which was published at Valparaiso on May 1, 1852, under the title *Bases y puntos de partida para la organización política de la república argentina*. This project was written after receipt of news of the defeat of the Argentine dictator, Juan Manuel de Rosas, at the battle of Monte Caseros: it was struck off in the glow of a great occasion by a mind which was versed in the political thought of America and Europe. In that treatise Alberdi characterized the United States as a land of liberty. With a knowledge which was certainly not profound—although unusual in a South American of that epoch—he mentioned the Articles of Confederation, the constitution of Massachusetts, and the Constitution of the United States. He cited Story's *Commentaries*, and from *The Federal-*

⁹⁸ Dorrego, pp. 243-49.

⁹⁹ Alberdi, *Escritos póstumos*, vol. xv, pp. 308, 309.

¹⁰⁰ Baqué, *Infuencia de Alberdi en la organización política del estado argentino*, pp. 34, 177.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 161, 162.

ist he quoted that masterful passage of Alexander Hamilton describing "the dark catalogue of our national misfortunes."¹⁰² In the second edition of his treatise, which was published in July, 1852, Alberdi acknowledged more explicitly his indebtedness to the constitution of Massachusetts, "that admirable model of good sense and clarity," with respect to his division of the constitutional project into two parts, one part stating "the principles, rights, and guarantees" which were the bases of political organization, and the other part describing the officials who were entrusted with the maintenance of those principles.¹⁰³

The treatise was accompanied by a draft of a constitution for Argentina. This draft showed that Alberdi had studied with profit the Constitution of Chile. It contained suggestions which were decidedly Alberdian, such as the provisions concerning emigration. Here and there throughout this project were traces of the influence of the political ideals of the United States.

The preamble began, "We, the representatives of the provinces of the Argentine confederation." This explained that the project had been framed "in order to form a federative state, to establish and define its national powers." After declaring that the confederation would be composed of provinces which should reserve all sovereignty not delegated expressly to the central government, the project stated that that government would guarantee to the provinces a republican regime, the integrity of their territory, their sovereignty, and their internal order. Public acts of one province were to be given entire faith in other provinces. Ports of one province were not to be accorded any preference in customs regulations over those of another. Vessels proceeding from one province to another would not be obliged to enter, anchor, or pay duties in the ports of other provinces. A section concerning the rights of Argentine citizens stated that the exercise of such rights should be regulated by congress; but that congress should not enact any law

¹⁰² Alberdi, *Obras completas*, vol. III, pp. 509, 570.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 556.

which would diminish, restrict, or essentially alter those guarantees. In a footnote Alberdi stated that this article was based upon the first, second, and fourth amendments to the Constitution of the United States. He proposed that each house of congress should be the judge of the elections of its own members. Those houses should make their respective rules about the attendance of absent members and should have the power to exclude members for improper conduct. The house of deputies should have the exclusive right to initiate laws concerning taxes and recruits. A bill might be passed over the president's veto by a two-thirds vote of both houses.

Perhaps the most significant resemblance to the Constitution of the United States was in Article XCVII which dealt with the jurisdiction of the federal judiciary:

The supreme court and the federal tribunals shall have jurisdiction over cases arising under this constitution, the general laws of the state, and treaties with foreign nations; of cases relating to ambassadors, other agents, ministers, or consuls of foreign countries residing in the confederation, and such agents of the confederation residing in foreign countries; and of cases of admiralty or maritime jurisdiction.

Article XCVIII provided that those federal tribunals should have jurisdiction over "cases arising between two or more provinces; between one province and the citizens of another province; between the citizens of different provinces; between one province and its own citizens; and between a province and a foreign state or citizen."¹⁰⁴

There is a fairly well authenticated tradition among Argentine scholars that Alberdi's project was used by the committee upon a constitution which was selected by the assembly that at Santa Fé in May, 1853,¹⁰⁵ adopted a fundamental law for the Argentine republic.¹⁰⁶ Although students of the constitutional history of Argentina have sometimes differed as to whether North American influence upon the framers of that Constitution was exercised mainly through Alberdi's project or in some other

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 578, 579.

¹⁰⁵ Baqué, pp. 158, 159.

¹⁰⁶ The Argentine Constitution as adopted in 1853 is found in *Registro oficial de la república argentina*, vol. III, pp. 65-73.

way, yet they have ordinarily agreed that such influence was considerable.

"In parallel versions," said Paul Groussac, the learned director of the national library of Argentina, "sixty-three articles of the Argentine Constitution resemble corresponding provisions in the North American Constitution."¹⁰⁷ Groussac argued that those striking resemblances were mainly caused by the fact that the chief sources of the Argentine Constitution of 1853 were the constitutions adopted by the United Provinces of la Plata in 1819 and in 1826—constitutions which had been somewhat influenced by North American example.¹⁰⁸ A younger Argentine scholar, Santiago Baqué, differed with Groussac about the sources of the Argentine Constitution of 1853. Although correct in his main contention, it was not without strain upon the evidence that Baqué said: "The nucleus of the Constitution of 1853, as also of the constitutions of 1826 and 1819 and of Alberdi's project, is the Constitution of the United States from which was taken the material for about two-thirds of the articles."¹⁰⁹

Let us notice in some detail certain provisions of the Constitution of 1853—as amended in 1860—which were obviously influenced by North American constitutional example. Article VII of the Argentine Constitution reads, "Full credit shall be given in each province to the public acts and judicial records of all the others; and congress shall have the power to provide by general laws the mode by which such acts and records shall be proved and what legal effects they shall produce."¹¹⁰ That article is a translation of Article I, Section 1, of the Constitution of the United States. Article VIII of the Argentine Constitution declares that the "citizens of each province shall enjoy in the other provinces all the rights, privileges, and immunities inherent to citizenship. The extradition of criminals is reciprocally obligatory upon all the provinces."¹¹¹ Obviously this

¹⁰⁷ Groussac, "El desarrollo constitucional y las bases de Alberdi," in *Anales de la biblioteca*, vol. II, p. 229, n. 2.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 229, 249.

¹⁰⁹ Baqué, p. 159.

¹¹⁰ Rodríguez, *American Constitutions*, vol. I, p. 101.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

article is an adaptation of Article IV, Section 2, of the United States Constitution. Article XII of the Argentine Constitution runs: "Vessels bound from one province to another shall not be compelled to enter, anchor, and pay duties on account of transit; and in no case shall preference be given by laws or commercial regulations to one port over another."¹¹² That article is evidently adapted from a clause in Article I, Section 9, of the Constitution of the United States. Another article of the Argentine constitution provides that new "provinces may be admitted into the nation; but no new province shall be erected within the territory of another province or of other provinces, nor shall two or more provinces be united into one without the consent of the legislatures of the respective provinces and of congress."¹¹³ Clearly this article is an adaptation of a clause of Article IV, Section 3, of the United States Constitution.

Article XXXI of the Argentine Constitution reads: "This Constitution, the national laws which congress may pass in pursuance thereof, and treaties with foreign powers are the supreme law of the nation; and the authorities of each province shall be obliged to abide by them, any provision in their own provincial constitutions or laws to the contrary notwithstanding, with the exception of the province of Buenos Aires in so far as the treaties ratified after the compact of November 11, 1859, are concerned."¹¹⁴ Students of American constitutional history will agree that that article, with the exception of the last few lines, is closely modelled upon a clause in Article VI of the Constitution of the United States which was derived from the plan introduced into the Philadelphia Convention by Patterson of New Jersey. Accordingly, it is evident that declarations embodying certain important principles were taken from the Constitution of the United States and adapted by the makers of the Constitution of Argentina; and that frequently the same, or almost the same, phraseology was employed.

An examination of other articles of the Argentine Constitution will indicate that the political ideals of certain Argentine publicists were further influenced by their North American

¹¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 102.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

model. Legislative power in Argentina was vested in a chamber of deputies and a senate. Members chosen for four years by popular vote were to form the chamber of deputies, while the senate was to be composed of two senators chosen by each provincial legislature for nine years and renewed by thirds every three years. The senate was to have the sole power to try public officials who were impeached by the lower house. No member of congress might be indicted, questioned or molested for opinions expressed or speeches delivered in the halls of congress. Among the specified grants of power to the Argentine congress which resembled certain grants made to the United States Congress was the power to coin money, to fix its value and that of foreign coins, and to adopt a uniform system of weights and measures. A striking resemblance was that grant which conferred upon congress the power to pass such laws and regulations as might be necessary to carry into effect the enumerated powers and all other powers granted by the Constitution to the national government of Argentina.¹¹⁵ This was obviously an Argentine adaptation of the clause which has become famous in the constitutional history of the United States as the elastic clause.

Under the Argentine Constitution of 1853 the executive power was vested in a president and vice president who should serve for six years. Those officers were to be chosen by electoral colleges in the capital city and in the provinces which should be composed of twice as many members as the respective district had deputies and senators in congress. In case no choice was made by the electors, congress should then choose a president from two candidates receiving the highest number of votes. The Argentine president was given power to grant pardons and commutations of sentences and was made the commander in chief of the army and navy.¹¹⁶

Judicial power was vested in a supreme court and in those inferior courts which congress might establish. The supreme court should have original and exclusive jurisdiction in cases relating to ambassadors, foreign ministers, and consuls, and

¹¹⁵ Rodríguez, *American Constitutions*, vol. I, pp. 107-17.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 118-26.

those to which a province should be a party. In cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, in cases to which the nation was a party, and in cases between citizens of different provinces, the supreme court should have appellate jurisdiction. Article CIII more closely resembled a clause in the Constitution of the United States; for it provided that treason against Argentina should consist only in taking up arms against her, or in adhering to her enemies, lending them aid and succor.¹¹⁷ Even in the few brief provisions concerning the provinces—which in some particulars were much unlike the states in the North American federal system—there were traces of the influence of the United States.¹¹⁸

To the writer it is accordingly clear that, whether by the aid of Alberdi's plan or by a study of the Constitution of the United States, or in some other way, the fathers of the Argentine Constitution borrowed ideas, principles, and even phrases that had been employed by the fathers who framed the federal Constitution at Philadelphia in 1787. On April 20, 1853, when the members of the congress of Santa Fé were discussing the project of a constitution, Señor Gorostiaga explicitly declared that this project had been "formed in the mould of the Constitution of the United States—the only model of a true Federation that there is in the world."¹¹⁹

The Constitution adopted in Argentina in 1853 is of special significance not only because, as subsequently modified, it has remained the fundamental law of the Argentine nation until the present day, but also because it has exerted an influence upon other nations of South America. It had some influence upon the framers of the existing Constitution of Paraguay. After the terrible war between Paraguay, on the one side, and Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay, on the other side—a war which resulted in the downfall and death of Dictator López—on August 15, 1870, a convention of Paraguayans assembled in the hall of the *cabildo* at Asunción. A committee of five men, headed by Juan Silvano Godoi, was selected to frame a constitution for Paraguay. Of the Constitution which was promulgated in

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 126-28.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 129, 130.

¹¹⁹ Baqué, pp. 157, 158.

November, 1870, the Paraguayan writer Domínguez remarked, "This Constitution is in large part a copy of the Argentine Constitution just as that is a copy of the North American Constitution, which, in turn, reflects the Magna Charta of England."¹²⁰ An examination of the Paraguayan Constitution hardly bears out this statement; for it is a centralistic rather than a federalistic Constitution in the sense in which those words are used in Hispanic America. Nevertheless in some of its provisions, such as the article regarding the supreme law of the land, the article concerning nonenumerated rights and guarantees, the article which is a species of elastic clause, an article providing for the renewal of senators by thirds every two years, an article defining treason, the articles regarding the process of impeachment, and certain articles concerning the powers of congress, there is evidence of the direct or indirect influence of the United States Constitution upon the framers of the Paraguayan Constitution.¹²¹

Although Brazil adopted a republican form of government later than any other important Hispanic-American state, yet fragments of evidence indicate that an occasional Brazilian saw visions of a republic even in colonial days. In 1787, when Thomas Jefferson was in France, a student from Brazil—who has been identified by Brazilian scholars as José Joaquim de Maia—talked with him about the establishment of a republic in his native land. That student soon became a member of a coterie that aspired for independence from Portugal in the vast interior province of Minas Geraes.¹²² The leaders of a revolution which broke out in the province of Pernambuco in 1817 entertained thoughts of imitating the political and social development of the United States.¹²³ Some members of the constituent convention of 1823, which vainly essayed to frame a constitution for Brazil, cherished dreams of a confederation.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ Domínguez, *La constitución del Paraguay*, vol. I, p. 68.

¹²¹ Rodríguez, *American Constitutions*, vol. II, pp. 381-410.

¹²² Jefferson, *Writings*, vol. IV, pp. 382, 383; Carneiro, "O Federalismo," in *Revista do instituto histórico e geográfico brasileiro, tomo especial consagrado ao primeiro congresso de história nacional*, pt. III, p. 212.

¹²³ Oliveira Lima, *Dom João VI no Brasil*, vol. II, p. 800, n. 1.

¹²⁴ Roure, *Formação constitucional do Brasil*, pp. 109-13.

After Pedro I had promulgated a monarchical Constitution the desire to establish a republican government in Brazil did not die out completely. In 1824 certain revolutionists—influenced by the example of the United States—tried to organize a confederation composed of the Brazilian provinces lying near the equator.¹²⁵ From time to time ephemeral journals championed the idea of a republic. On December 3, 1870, there appeared from the press of Rio de Janeiro a new periodical entitled *A republica* which became the organ of those who styled themselves Republicans. Its first number contained a manifesto which was signed by a number of liberal leaders. The founding of that journal, said Joaquim Nabuco, "was an event which, if there had been prescience in politics, would have eclipsed all other events."¹²⁶

The occasion for the revolution which changed the status of Brazil from an empire to a republic was the enactment of a law in March, 1888, which provided for the immediate abolition of slavery. Humanitarian though this law was, it provoked much discontent among the owners of large estates which had been cultivated by slave labor and thus promoted the downfall of monarchy. On November 15, 1889, Emperor Pedro II, who had just returned from a European tour, was quietly deposed. Upon the same day certain revolutionists led by General Deodoro da Fonseca issued a decree announcing that Brazil was a federal republic; that the Brazilian provinces joined by a federal bond constituted the United States of Brazil; and that, pending the election of a constituent congress, the Brazilian nation would be ruled by a provisional government.¹²⁷ Two days later the Imperial family sailed for Portugal; and Robert Adams, United States minister in Rio de Janeiro, telegraphed Secretary of State Blaine, "Important we acknowledge Republic first."¹²⁸ Amarel Valente, the Brazilian minister at Washington, having received credentials as the representative of the United States of Brazil, was formally received by Presi-

¹²⁵ Carneiro, *loc. cit.*, pt. III, pp. 226, 227.

¹²⁶ Nabuco, *Um estadista do imperio*, vol. III, pp. 191, 192.

¹²⁷ *Collecção das leis do Brasil: decretos do governo provisório da república dos estados do Brasil, 15 de Novembro a 31 de Dezembro de 1889*, p. 1.

¹²⁸ Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. I, p. 160.

dent Harrison on January 29, 1890. Adams was soon made minister to the United States of Brazil.¹²⁹

In the meantime members of the provisional government at Rio de Janeiro were employed in drafting a constitution. The Liberal statesman, Ruy Barbosa, took a prominent part in that labor. A project of a constitution for Brazil, which had been approved by Deodoro da Fonseca, was soon submitted to a constituent assembly.¹³⁰ That body referred the project to a committee of twenty-one members representing the provinces and the federal district. In the discussions upon this plan a prominent member of the committee declared that it was not original; that it was based upon the Constitution of the United States with the addition of certain articles from the constitutions of Switzerland and Argentina and modified to suit the circumstances of Brazil.¹³¹ More emphatic were the remarks of Prudente de Moraes after the Constitution had been adopted by the assembly: "Henceforth our country will have a free and democratic Constitution with a liberal federal system—the only system which is capable of maintaining union, the only system which will enable her to develop, to prosper, and to play the rôle in South America that her model does in North America!"¹³² On February 24, 1891, the new Constitution was promulgated as the supreme law of Brazil.

The preamble of this Constitution declared that it was promulgated by the representatives of the Brazilian people. This Constitution provided that the government of Brazil should be representative, federal, and republican. One of the most important changes which it heralded was embodied in the statement that the Brazilian nation was composed of the former provinces joined in an indissoluble union known as the United States of Brazil. The ancient provinces were accordingly transformed into states. In contrast with the United States Constitution, the Brazilian Constitution gave the states the right to levy export duties upon their respective products.

¹²⁹ Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. I, p. 161.

¹³⁰ Leal, *História constitucional do Brasil*, pp. 208-21.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 225. See further Rodrigo, *Constituições federaes*, p. 5.

¹³² Leal, p. 241.

Provisions in the Constitution regarding the relations between the states and the federal government were adapted from its North American model. For it provided that the national government should not interfere in affairs concerning the states except to repel foreign invasion or the invasion of one state by another, to maintain a federal republican form of government, to reestablish order and tranquillity, and to enforce federal laws and judgments. Brazil's Constitution also provided that the power to levy import duties, as well as the power to establish banks of issue, should be exclusively vested in the national government. That government was prohibited from making discriminations for or against the ports of any state.¹³³ As contrasted with other existing Hispanic-American constitutions of a federal, republican type these clauses are among the distinctive provisions which made the Brazilian Constitution in certain particulars approximate closely the great model, the Constitution of the United States.

It may be affirmed that the participation of certain citizens of the United States in the wars for independence did not have a decisive influence upon the separation of the Spanish colonies from the motherland. However, the enlistment of such adventurous citizens in the ranks of insurrectionary armies may have promoted the spread of the political ideas of the United States. Those ideas were ordinarily disseminated through translations of notable literary productions and state papers by enterprising leaders of the Spanish-American revolutionary epoch. In the beginning of that era the political influence of the United States was very noticeable in northern South America. United States constitutional doctrines were also influential in the basin of la Plata River in the times of Artigas and Alberdi; in Chile in the age of Infante; and in Mexico during the days of Victoria and Juárez. Not much evidence can be found of the influence of the legal ideas of the United States in Hispanic America: the jury system is indeed mentioned in the laws of some Hispanic-American republics; and Brazil incorporated some United States practices concerning the home-

¹³³ Rodríguez, *American Constitutions*, vol. I, pp. 134-38.

stead into her recent civil code. The admiration of Spanish-American publicists for the institutions of the United States has waned somewhat since the establishment of independence. At the present time the federal Constitution of the United States finds its most striking imitation in the Argentine Constitution and in the Constitution of the former empire of Brazil. Even in the United States of Brazil, however, the political influence of the Republic of the North has been significant largely because her Constitution has been emulated as an ideal.

CHAPTER IV

THE MONROE DOCTRINE, ALLIED DOCTRINES, AND INTERVENTION

French intervention in Mexico—Chile and Mexico on the Monroe Doctrine—The boundary dispute between Venezuela and Great Britain—Hispanic-American approval of Cleveland's policy—Intervention in Cuba—The Blockade of Venezuela by European powers—The Calvo and Drago Doctrines—The “Roosevelt corollary of the Monroe Doctrine”—Fiscal intervention by the United States in the Dominican Republic—The Second Hague Conference and the forcible collection of public debts—The Tobar Doctrine—The Central American Peace Conference of 1907—Interposition in Central America—The Magdalena Bay Resolution—García Calderón and Oliveira Lima on intervention and the Monroe Doctrine—“Watchful waiting” and the Mexican imbroglio.

For many years after the Old World and the New were startled by the Monroe Doctrine no occasion arose which imperatively demanded the application of that doctrine to Hispanic America. Yet from time to time American statesmen expressed their opinions concerning its scope and content. After the middle of the nineteenth century some significant interpretations and applications of that elastic doctrine were made. In this chapter we shall devote some attention to the reactions which those applications produced in Hispanic-American states. A significant case that involved an application of the Monroe Doctrine resulted from the policy which three European powers adopted toward Mexico when the United States was being torn by the Civil War.

It was with an appreciation of historic values that the gifted American cartoonist, Thomas Nast, depicted Napoleon III attired in the discarded clothes of Napoleon I. European intervention in Mexico took its origins from an attempt by France, in conjunction with England and Spain, to enforce the payment of troublesome pecuniary claims. In July, 1861, at the close of a civil war, the Mexican government decided that it would suspend payments on its foreign “debts” for two years. Some of

those debts were exorbitant or fraudulent. The most notorious was the claim of Jecker and Company for fifteen million dollars which was represented by bonds received for a cash payment of seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars to an ephemeral Mexican government. Apparently both the English and the French Governments had in prospect the ultimate participation by their agents in the collection of Mexico's customs duties.¹

In October, 1861, England, France, and Spain signed a convention by which they agreed to dispatch a joint expedition to America in order to seize some fortresses upon the Mexican coast. This convention stipulated that in the use of coercive measures the contracting parties would neither seek to acquire any territory or special advantage, nor would they interfere in the internal affairs of the government of Mexico.² As she also had claims against Mexico, the United States was invited to join the expedition; but Secretary of State Seward declined to participate in the use of force against a friendly neighbor. He informed the allied governments that the United States had a "deep interest" that no territory should be acquired as the result of intervention in Mexico and that no change should take place which would impair the right of the Mexicans to select their own form of government.³ After capturing Vera Cruz, the English and the Spanish commanders adjusted their respective claims with the Mexican Government and withdrew their soldiers. France declined to make a similar settlement: the course of events amply demonstrated that Napoleon III aimed to supplant the Mexican president, Benito Juárez, by a monarchy supported by French bayonets.

In June, 1863, the invading army captured the city of Mexico. The French commander soon convoked a subservient *junta* of notables, which decided that a monarchy should be established in Mexico and that Archduke Maximilian of Austria should be invited to occupy the throne. Hence, on September 26, 1863, Secretary Seward instructed the American minister in Paris to inform the French Government that its policy in Mexico was dis-

¹ Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, vol. vi, pp. 18, 35-38.

² *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. LI, pp. 63-65.

³ *The Present Condition of Mexico*, pp. 390, 394, 395.

pleasing to the United States; Seward expressed his opinion that the Mexican people preferred a republican and domestic government to foreign institutions; and he warned France that the United States would not be likely to neglect such measures as might be necessary for the safety of a sovereign state.⁴ On April 4, 1864, the House of Representatives adopted a resolution which declared that it did not accord "with the policy of the United States to acknowledge any monarchical government erected on the ruins of any republican government in America under the auspices of any European Power."⁵ In the following July Maximilian was seated upon the Mexican throne, while President Juárez had transferred his government to El Paso del Norte (Juárez).

The United States Government consistently declined to recognize Emperor Maximilian and treated President Juárez as the head of the true government of Mexico. After General Lee's soldiers had laid down their arms at Appomattox Court House, Secretary Seward made stronger and stronger representations to France against her intervention in Mexico. On November 6, 1865, the American minister in Paris was instructed to inform the French minister of foreign affairs that the "presence and operations of a French army in Mexico, and its maintenance of an authority there, resting upon force and not the free will of the people of Mexico" was "a cause of serious concern to the United States."⁶ About six weeks later Seward transmitted the warning that the prosecution by French soldiers of a design to establish a "foreign monarchy" upon the ruins of a "domestic republican government" in Mexico would inevitably jeopardize the friendly relations which the United States earnestly desired to cultivate with France.⁷ That secretary's insistent objections to the pressure of French troops in Mexico—which were probably reenforced by the French Emperor's conviction that his soldiers might be needed in Europe—ultimately induced

⁴ *Message of the President of the United States to Congress at the Commencement of the First Session of the Thirty-Eighth Congress*, pt. II, pp. 782, 783.

⁵ *Congressional Globe*, vol. XXXIV, pt. II, p. 1408.

⁶ *Message of the President of the United States of March 20, 1866, relating to the Condition of Affairs in Mexico in answer to a resolution of the House of December 11, 1865*, p. 487.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 496.

Napoleon III to withdraw them completely. The last detachments sailed from Vera Cruz in the spring of 1867. Seward's warnings transmitted through the American minister at Vienna that the United States could not view "with unconcern" Austrian support of Mexico's invaders evidently influenced Austria to discourage the enlistment of volunteers for the support of the hapless Maximilian.⁸ In the meantime Republican soldiers decisively defeated Imperialistic soldiers in Mexico. Maximilian, who still remained in Mexico, was captured by the followers of Juárez and court-martialed. He was shot at Querétaro on June 19, 1867. President Juárez soon entered the city of Mexico amid the acclamations of the populace.

Although Secretary Seward did not evoke the Monroe Doctrine by name, yet certain phrases which occur in his dispatches, as well as the logic of the situation, suggest that this doctrine was not altogether unconnected with his opinion that French usurpations in Mexico were a menace to his country. Prominent Mexicans were grateful for the influence thus exerted by their northern neighbor, but they did not forget that the United States had acquired large territories from them in 1848 as the result of a war—an event the consideration of which is excluded from the scope of this volume. Opinions may differ regarding the exact amount of influence which the policy of the United States had upon the French *débâcle* in Mexico, yet the truth remains that in the eyes of many publicists the Monroe Doctrine had scored a triumph.

French intervention in Mexico precipitated a discussion concerning the Monroe Doctrine in certain countries of Hispanic America. In the Chilean chamber of deputies, on July 30, 1864, when a motion to the effect that Chile would not recognize Maximilian was being discussed, José V. Lastarria introduced a bill containing one article:

The republic of Chile does not recognize as being in conformity with American international law the acts of European intervention in America, or the governments established as a result of such intervention,

⁸ *Message of the President of the United States of March 20, 1866, relating to the Condition of Affairs in Mexico in answer to a resolution of the House of December 11, 1865*, p. 565.

even though such action may have been solicited. This republic does not recognize any agreement for a protectorate, a cession, a sale, or whatsoever arrangement that impairs the sovereignty or the independence of an American state in favor of European nations, or which has as its object to establish a form of government antagonistic to the republican, representative form adopted in Spanish America.⁹

In the debates upon this proposal Miguel L. Amunátegui declared that it was the expression of a sentiment which was "deeply rooted in the Chilean heart."¹⁰ Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna declared that he favored the entire acceptance of Lastarria's motion. The chamber of deputies approved the bill, only two votes being cast against the proposed declaration.¹¹

On April 10, 1896, yielding to persons who desired an expression of opinion about the Monroe Doctrine, the Mexican president said to congress that Mexico could not do less than show herself "the partisan of a doctrine" that condemned as "contrary to the established order any attack of monarchical Europe against the republics of America. . . . The course of our history, especially the struggle of our people to cast off the yoke of an exotic empire of European origin and form and elements—as shown by the torrents of blood which were spilt in that rude conflict—furnishes testimony to the world of our love for independence and our hatred for all foreign intervention."¹²

Those remarks were provoked by the Anglo Venezuelan controversy. In 1895 a boundary dispute which had been waged for a half century between the republic of Venezuela and Great Britain about the ownership of valuable territory reached a most acute stage. Expanding from "the establishment of Demerara, Essequibo, and Bernice"—which they had secured by treaty from Holland in 1814—the British had gradually penetrated into territory that was claimed by Venezuela. The British were the heirs of the Dutch, who were considered by the Spaniards as interlopers. At root the controversy was due to a conflict between two different principles concerning the proper basis for territorial claims: the principle, inherited by the

⁹ *Sesiones del congreso nacional de 1864*, p. 352.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 356.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 358, 359.

¹² As quoted in *La época*, June 2, 1896.

Spanish Americans from Spain, that territorial claims could properly be based upon discovery, exploration, and vague royal grants; and the modern principle which rested territorial claims mainly upon the actual settlement of the disputed territory.

As early as 1822 the government of Great Colombia had instructed its agent in London to direct the attention of the British Government to the necessity of determining the boundary line between Colombia and British Guiana, declaring that colonists from Demerara and Bernice had occupied territory upon the banks of the Essequibo River which rightly belonged to it.¹³ In 1841, on behalf of the English Government, Robert H. Schomburgk explored Guiana and left boundary marks along the courses of the rivers Amacura and Cuyuni. Through her minister in London, Alejo Fortique, Venezuela protested against this action, and proposed in 1844 that the boundary line should be the Essequibo River. The Fortique and Schomburgk lines represented the extreme pretensions of the contending governments at that juncture. From time to time the chancelleries of those governments proposed various compromise lines. In 1844 Lord Aberdeen proposed a line. Secretary Rojas of Venezuela sketched a line in 1881. And, in the same year, Lord Granville drew a compromise boundary. But the contending parties could make no adjustment. From 1884 to 1886 the British extended their claims beyond the Schomburgk line to include mining lands in the interior. On February 20, 1887, after vainly asking the British to evacuate valuable territory which they had occupied near the Orinoco's mouth, Venezuela announced that she had suspended diplomatic relations with Great Britain; she protested against the acts of spoliation committed by that government, and declared that she had in vain proposed to submit the controversy to arbitration.¹⁴

As early as 1884 Venezuela had asked the United States to check the alleged encroachments of the British upon her soil.¹⁵ Subsequently, the Venezuelan minister in Washington appealed

¹³ Cadena, *Anales diplomáticos de Colombia*, p. 442.

¹⁴ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1894, p. 805.

¹⁵ Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. vi, pp. 540, 541.

to Secretary of State Bayard to facilitate the adjustment of the dispute by arbitration, declaring that "the doctrine of the immortal Monroe should possess all the vitality that the alarming circumstances" demanded.¹⁶ In January, 1894, the Venezuelan minister at Washington called attention to the fact that England had refused to arbitrate the controversy and pointedly referred to the declaration of the United States that "the nations of the American continent . . . were not subject to colonization by any European power."¹⁷ From January to July of that year there were published in the *Diario de Caracas* a series of articles concerning the Guiana boundary which invoked the Monroe Doctrine. In discussing the question as to whether or not that doctrine was applicable to the controversy this journal declared that upon one notable occasion the United States had raised her voice against armed intervention in America thereby frustrating the anti-republican designs of European powers.¹⁸

The United States opposes the establishment of new colonies upon American soil. The expansion of Demerara at the expense of Venezuela is equivalent to another acquisition of territory by Great Britain; and consequently it is to be condemned. The United States does not permit that the form of government which the American republics have adopted shall be altered. But in this case that is being done. For the districts which are taken from the Venezuelan republic are by that transaction made possessions of monarchical England.¹⁹

While this discussion was going on in the press of Caracas, a proffer of good offices and a proposal by the United States that the controversy should be submitted to arbitration was declined by Great Britain.²⁰ In February, 1895, President Cleveland signed a joint resolution favoring friendly arbitration.²¹

On July 20, 1895, Secretary of State Richard Olney sent a trenchant dispatch to the American minister in London in which he protested concerning the extension of British power and influence in derogation of the rights and wishes of Venezuela.

¹⁶ Cleveland, *The Venezuelan Boundary Controversy*, p. 71.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

¹⁸ *Límites de Guayana*, p. 3.

¹⁹ *Diario de Caracas*, as quoted in *Límites de Guayana*, p. 49.

²⁰ Cleveland, pp. 84-89.

²¹ *Congressional Record*, vol. XXVII, pt. II, p. 1832; *ibid.*, pt. III, p. 2642.

Olney referred to the Monroe Doctrine by name as applicable to this controversy and gave to that doctrine a most broad interpretation. He declared that the Monroe Doctrine had only one purpose and object: that "no European power or combination of European powers shall forcibly deprive an American state of the right and power of self-government and of shaping for itself its own political fortunes and destinies."²² After a few months' delay Lord Salisbury replied to assert that Great Britain was neither imposing a "'system' upon Venezuela" nor was she "concerning herself in any way with the nature of the political institutions" under which the Venezuelans might prefer to live. "The disputed frontier of Venezuela has nothing to do with any of the questions dealt with by President Monroe." Salisbury repeated the declaration that, with regard to a certain part of the disputed territory, England would not submit her claims to arbitration.²³ President Cleveland apparently thought that Great Britain viewed the Monroe Doctrine as a "mere plaything."²⁴ On December 17, 1895, he sent a special message to Congress expounding the view that the extension of boundaries by a European power so as to take possession of the territory of a Hispanic-American state against her will constituted a case under the Monroe Doctrine. He recommended that Congress make an appropriation for a commission to investigate the facts and to report. He said:

When such report is made and accepted, it will in my opinion be the duty of the United States to resist by every means in its power as a willful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory which after investigation we have determined of right belongs to Venezuela.²⁵

Notice should be taken that he was reported to have said in private conversation that this was "a peace message, the only way to prevent a probable collision between the two nations."²⁶

²² Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. vi, p. 549.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 561.

²⁴ Cleveland, p. 107.

²⁵ Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. vi, p. 579.

²⁶ Rhodes, "Cleveland's Administrations," in *Scribner's Magazine*, vol. L, p. 611.

Denounced from some pulpits in the United States, criticized vigorously by certain English journalists, Cleveland's belligerent message was greeted with joy in Venezuela. On March 9, 1896, both houses of the Venezuelan congress adopted a declaration that the President of the United States as the advocate of "the territorial integrity of the independent nations of the New World," had "acquired a special claim to the gratitude of the peoples of this continent"; that by its response to "the noble ideas of the Supreme Magistrate" the Congress of the United States had "opened new and hopeful vistas in a dispute," which had been confined "to the narrow sphere of fruitless discussion with peril to the general interests of the continent"; and that, because of these actions, the supreme magistrates of the United States deserved "in a singular manner, an expression of affection" which embodied "all the grateful sentiments of this republic towards the glorious fatherland of Washington and Monroe!" The Venezuelan congress accordingly resolved to "bestow upon the honorable Congress of the United States of America and upon the most excellent President of that nation, as a special vote of Venezuela, an homage of gratitude for the eminent service which they have rendered to the other independent peoples of the New World, and especially to this people, by the policy of promoting the peaceful and decorous settlement of the boundary controversy with British Guiana in a manner consonant with international justice!"²⁷

In the same month that Cleveland's famous message was penned, Congress passed a bill providing for the appointment of a commission "to investigate and report upon the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana."²⁸ A commission of eminent Americans was soon appointed. It selected certain historical experts to search in Dutch and Spanish archives for documents concerning the disputed boundary. By November, 1896, before the commission made its report, England, influenced perhaps by startling events connected with the Transvaal, decided to submit the dispute to

²⁷ *Acuerdo del congreso de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela, dictado el 9 de Marzo de 1896*, pp. 7-9.

²⁸ *Statutes at Large of the United States*, vol. xxix, p. 1.

arbitration, stipulating, however, that "adverse holding or prescription during a period of fifty years" should constitute a good title. On February 2, 1897, British and Venezuelan representatives at Washington signed a treaty providing for the choice of arbitrators to determine the boundary line between British Guiana and Venezuela.²⁹ The arbitrators, chosen by the highest judicial tribunals in England and the United States and presided over by a jurist chosen by themselves, assembled at Paris in January, 1899. A large amount of documentary material and an atlas prepared by the American commission were laid before the arbitrators. On October 3, 1899, those arbitrators announced a decision which partook of the nature of a compromise. England obtained a large portion of the interior territory which was in dispute, while Venezuela's right to a comparatively small but valuable portion of territory at the Orinoco's mouth was confirmed.³⁰

We have already noticed the approval of the policy of the United States by the governments of Mexico and Venezuela. Further the Brazilian congress unanimously adopted a motion approving Cleveland's policy. The upper house of that congress sent greetings to the United States Senate about the message of Cleveland, declaring that he had guarded "the dignity, the sovereignty, and the freedom of the American nations."³¹

Prominent newspapers in various countries of Spanish America expressed their approval of Cleveland's policy in no uncertain terms. *El ferrocarril* of Sonsata in Salvador praised Cleveland and Monroe thus:

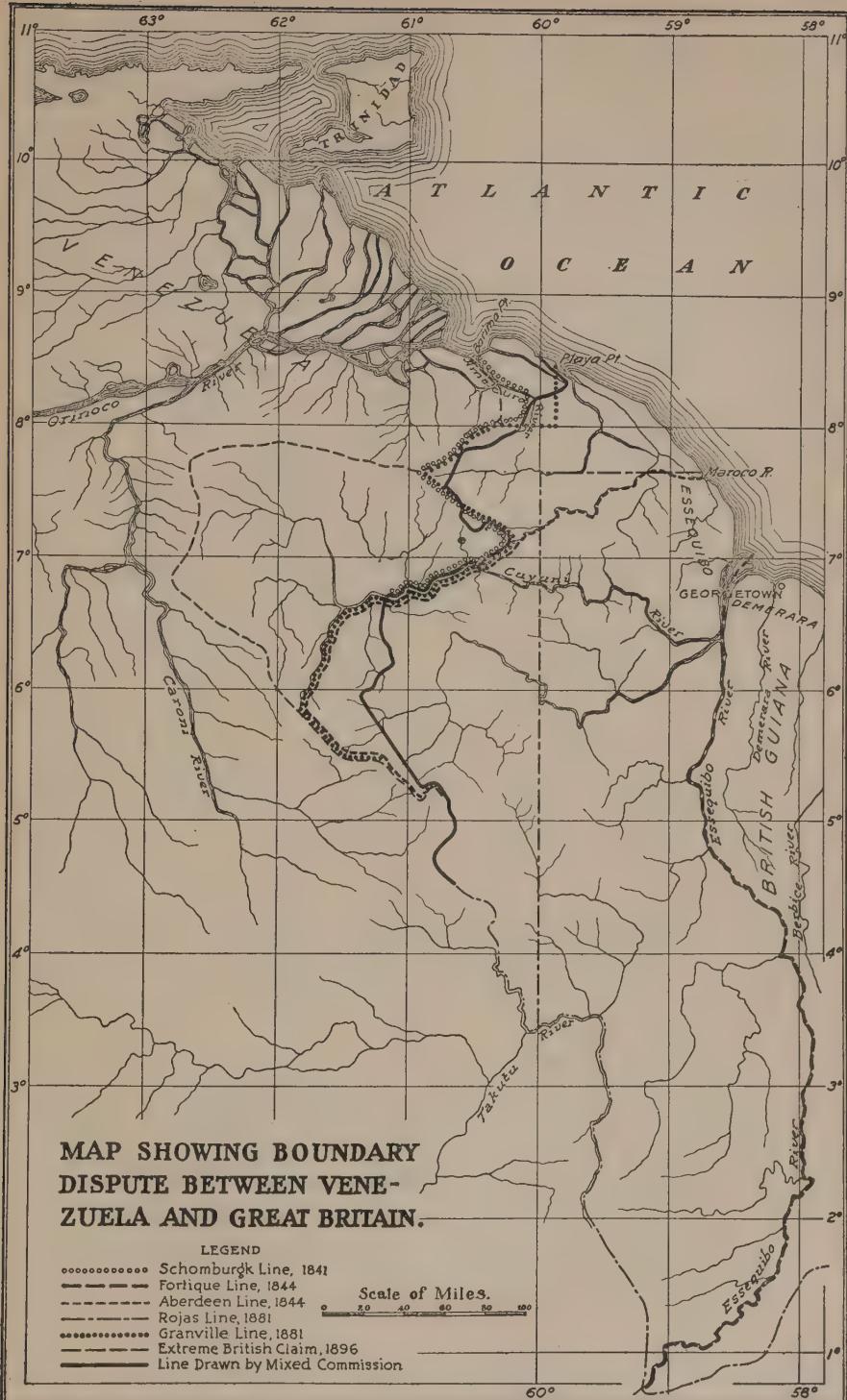
Monroe has opened to Cleveland the doors of the temple. In his turn Cleveland, if possible, has conferred greater immortality upon Monroe. The message of Cleveland . . . has been the complement of American independence; or rather this state paper, which has made effective and practical a saving doctrine that for many years was considered platonic and theoretical, has had the effect of a moral and political victory!³²

²⁹ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1896, pp. 254, 255; La Fontaine, *Pasicrisie internationale*, pp. 554-56.

³⁰ *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. xcii, pp. 160-62.

³¹ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1895, vol. i, pp. 75, 76.

³² Robertson, "Hispanic American Appreciations of the Monroe Doctrine," in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. iii, pp. 10, 11.



In Guayaquil, Ecuador, *El tiempo* published an article entitled "International Questions," declaring that the attitude assumed by the United States in the boundary dispute had profoundly affected the minds of Spanish Americans: "Every person now feels that the saving Doctrine of Monroe will cease to be a purely speculative principle or a principle of merely historic value, as it has been designated, and that it will become a formula of our public international law."³³ On January 4, 1896, *La época* of Bogotá published an editorial entitled "The Practice of the Monroe Doctrine," asserting that England by an abuse of force had attempted to make herself the judge of the dispute. "Confronted by such a display of force and such scandalous injustice the land of Washington has shocked Europe by constituting herself,—in the name of justice and the New World, an arbitrator between the strong nation and the weak nation for the adjudication of the controversy." On January 9 *El heraldo* of the same city contained an editorial which expressed the following sentiments: "Admirable is the rôle which the Great Republic founded by the virtuous Washington plays in the Guiana controversy! By the side of Washington there will figure honorably in history Monroe and Cleveland, his worthy successors." On January 13, 1896, the *Diario de Caracas*, the official organ of the Venezuelan Government, declared:

Propitious winds now blow from one extreme of the continent to the other. The right of preservation prevails over every other consideration; and the Monroe Doctrine, based upon this right which is vital for individuals and for organizations, now assumes the character of a formidable principle:—it is a formula that will preserve the existence of our incipient democracies.

On February 7 that journal made this comment:

President Monroe furnished a formula in the celebrated message that bears his name; Cleveland and the United States congress have amplified it in connection with our dispute with England; and eventually there is spreading from the Hudson River to Cape Horn the conception of a grand American alliance as the most expeditious and

³³ Robertson, "Hispanic American Appreciations of the Monroe Doctrine," *loc. cit.*, vol. III, p. 10.

imperative measure for the salvation of the rights and the sovereignties of our young republics.

It is within the bounds of truth to say that the foreign policy of the United States evoked more approbation in Hispanic America in 1895 and 1896 than at any other time since the days of President Monroe.³⁴

The war between the United States and Spain in 1898, which was caused by the intervention of the American Government to end the deplorable conditions that existed in Cuba, was significant for many reasons. Here such reasons only will be noticed as have a relation to our general theme. The close of that war marked the end of Spanish rule in the New World. Porto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines passed under the control of the United States, while Cuba was eventually given freedom under the tutelage of that government. The acquisition of insular possessions forced the United States to take a deeper interest in the West Indies and in Isthmian communications. As Spanish law was deeply rooted in Porto Rico, there soon occurred on that island a curious blending of Spanish and North American legal ideas. The civilization of the United States was engrafted upon a Spanish-American trunk.³⁵ An important precedent was established in 1901 in the Platt Amendment defining the future relations between the United States and Cuba; for this amendment stipulated that Cuba should not incur excessive debts and that the United States should have the "right to intervene in that island" to preserve Cuban independence, and to maintain "a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty."³⁶

About four years after the Cuban republic was launched intervention became necessary. In August, 1906, after the reelection of President Estrada Palma, a revolt took place against his government. President Roosevelt accordingly decided to send Secretary of War Taft and Assistant Secretary of State Bacon

³⁴ See further, Robertson, "Hispanic American Appreciations of the Monroe Doctrine," *loc. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 1-16.

³⁵ On the results in Porto Rico, see Jones, *The Caribbean Interests of the United States*, chap. VII.

³⁶ *Statutes at Large of the United States*, vol. XXXI, pp. 897, 898.

to Habana to reconcile the contending factions. This mission failed in its purpose; for the president resigned, and the Cuban congress adjourned without filling the vacancy. Hence Taft proclaimed a provisional government to restore order, peace, and confidence, and to reestablish a permanent Cuban government. Soon afterwards the duties of provisional governor were assumed by Charles E. Magoon and United States troops were stationed in Cuba. On December 3, 1906, President Roosevelt declared in his message to Congress that it was "absolutely out of the question that the Island should continue independent," if the "insurrectionary habit" should become confirmed.³⁷ During the occupation by the United States, which lasted about two years, a good peace was maintained in the island, public improvements were introduced into several towns and cities, and the criminal and electoral laws were revised. In his message to Congress on December 3, 1907, Roosevelt declared that peace and prosperity had been restored to Cuba.³⁸ On November 24, 1908, a general election was held; members of a new congress were chosen; and General José Miguel Gómez was elected president. Early in the following year the Cuban congress assembled, the government was soon entrusted to Cuban officials, and the army of occupation was withdrawn. The guardianship of the United States had been amply justified.

Just as the industrial history of Hispanic America is in some part the story of its exploitation by foreigners, so is its diplomacy in considerable part an account of foreign claims. No more striking illustration of that statement can be found than the claims urged by European nations against Venezuela in 1902-1903. At that time ten foreign nations made demands upon the Venezuelan Government for the payment of debts due to their citizens.

Of those nations England and Germany may serve as examples. On December 7, 1902, the English minister at Caracas addressed to the Venezuelan secretary of foreign relations a note expressing the dissatisfaction of his government with Venezuela's atti-

³⁷ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1906, pt. I, p. xlv.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1907, pt. I, p. lxiv.

tude toward the payment of claims presented by England. The English minister declared that those claims had arisen largely because of civil wars in Venezuela, because of the maltreatment or unjust imprisonment of English subjects and interference with English commerce, and because of an adjustment of Venezuela's external debt. He expressed the hope that Venezuela would yield to the demands and not compel his government to take steps to obtain satisfaction. He added that the English government had been informed of the claims of the German Government against Venezuela, and "that these two governments had agreed to act jointly in order to obtain an adjustment of all their claims."³⁹

On December 7 the German minister at Caracas also addressed a note to the Venezuelan Government expressing his dissatisfaction at its attitude toward claims presented by his government. He expressed the hope that Venezuela "would satisfy the just demands of Germany" and would not compel his government to see that those claims were satisfied. He also mentioned the agreement for joint action between England and Germany.⁴⁰ It appears that, after inditing those notes, the two protesting ministers proceeded to La Guaira and embarked on vessels of their respective squadrons which were stationed there.⁴¹

On December 11, 1901, the German ambassador at Washington left at the State Department a memorandum concerning his government's claims against Venezuela. His memorandum explained that there were unpaid claims due to a German company because of engagements undertaken by Venezuela in connection with the construction of a railway amounting to six million *bolivares*; and that there were other claims against Venezuela arising from injuries to German citizens during the civil wars which had raged in that country amounting to two million *bolivares*. The German ambassador declared that the policy of Venezuela, which had decreed that those claims should be passed upon by a Venezuelan commission, was "a frivolous attempt to

³⁹ *Venezuela ante el conflicto con las potencias aliadas*, vol. 1, p. 22.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

avoid just obligations." He served notice that it was Germany's intention to take coercive measures against Venezuela and to employ a pacific blockade which would affect neutral vessels. But his memorandum stated that "under no circumstances" would the Imperial government consider "the acquisition or the permanent occupation of Venezuelan territory."⁴² In his reply, five days later, Secretary of State Hay referred to the fact that the German ambassador upon his recent return from Berlin had conveyed the assurance of the German Emperor to the government of the United States that the Imperial government had no intention to make even the smallest acquisition of territory on the South American continent or the islands adjacent. Secretary Hay said that, in view of this assurance and of the declarations in the memorandum, the President did not regard himself as "called upon to enter into the consideration of the claims in question."⁴³ On November 13, 1902, the English ambassador at Washington had informed Hay of his government's intention to use coercive measures against Venezuela for the collection of claims. Hay's response was "that the United States Government, although they regretted that European powers should use force against Central and South American countries, could not object to their taking steps to obtain redress for injuries suffered by their subjects, provided that no acquisition of territory was contemplated."⁴⁴

In this manner did the United States receive the decision of England and Germany to take forcible measures against Venezuela. On December 9, 1902, President Castro was informed by a telegram from La Guaira that, by the aid of men from an English frigate, Captain Eckermann commanding the frigate *Panther* of the German navy had seized four Venezuelan vessels by force.⁴⁵ Castro at once issued a proclamation to his compatriots indignantly announcing that the insolent feet of foreigners had profaned the sacred soil of the fatherland.⁴⁶ On December 10, 1902, López Baralt, the Venezuelan secretary of

⁴² Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. vi, pp. 586-89.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 590.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 592.

⁴⁵ *Venezuela ante el conflicto con las potencias aliadas*, vol. i, pp. 5-9, 40, 45.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

foreign relations, addressed to the states friendly to Venezuela that did not have legations in Caracas a formal protest affirming that English and German warships which had been anchored at La Guaira had "committed an act of aggression against Venezuela which was contrary to the most elementary customs of civilized nations." The Venezuelan secretary averred that there were "no antecedents" to justify the act; for the diplomatic representatives of England and Germany had just addressed to the Venezuelan government a special communication in regard to the controversy, "without setting a limit to the time within which the reply should be made." He declared that after this reply was dispatched, "but before it had reached its destination and hence without knowledge of its scope or content, those diplomats set military forces into operation in a manner manifestly hostile to Venezuela. After having seized Venezuela's war vessels that were anchored in the harbor of La Guaira. . . various bands of armed soldiers had disembarked."⁴⁷ Using as a pretext an alleged insult offered to the Union Jack, on December 13, 1902, the English frigate *Charybdis* and the German frigate *Vineta* bombarded forts at Puerto Cabello and captured the castle commanding that port.⁴⁸ President Castro immediately issued a proclamation denouncing this bombardment which had taken place without any of the formalities customary in such cases.⁴⁹ On December 15 Venezuela's secretary of foreign relations addressed to the states friendly to Venezuela which did not have legations at Caracas a solemn protest against those "successive violations of international law that were extremely perilous for international life."⁵⁰

The apparent desire of Germany to establish a so-called pacific blockade of Venezuela's coast was thwarted, for the United States made a diplomatic protest against any extension of the doctrine of pacific blockade which would affect neutrals. A formal blockade was announced by England and Germany on December 20, 1902: that announcement established a status of belligerency.⁵¹ Two days later, by order of the Emperor, the

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 42.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-67.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 72.

⁵¹ Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. VII, pp. 140, 141.

German commodore announced a blockade of Puerto Cabello and Maracaibo.⁵² Italian war vessels subsequently joined the blockading squadron.

The aggressions of the associated powers caused much agitation in Venezuela. Newspaper articles were printed denouncing the policy of Germany and her associates. Tomás Michelena stigmatized them as "filibusters, pirates, and buccaneers." Prominent Venezuelan writers expressed the opinion that a confederation of American states should be formed for armed protection against European aggression. Manuel C. Urbaneja, a former Venezuelan secretary of foreign relations, expressed the hope that a congress of delegates might be assembled in Panamá to consider the formation of a league of Spanish-American states as well as to discuss the relations between those states and Europe. He expressed doubt concerning the applicability of the Monroe Doctrine to infractions of international law. That doctrine, he maintained, was merely a principle of the foreign policy of the United States, the application of which depended upon the exigencies of her policy.⁵³

But other Venezuelan writers manifested their intentions to rely upon that doctrine. General Francisco Tosta García expressed the opinion that the United States Government could not view, with arms folded, the European aggressions in South America. That government could not abandon the cardinal principle of her policy and allow Venezuela to be sacrificed in this hour of proof.⁵⁴ Arístides Tellería expressed his opinion that the unexpected aggressions of European powers against Venezuela should be considered as nothing else than a crucial test of the Monroe Doctrine by old nations which were jealous of the expanding power of the Colossus of the North.⁵⁵ In an article in *El constitucional* entitled "The Doctrine of Monroe and Teuton Pride" General Bermúdez asked if the pride of Germany had tried "to play a trick upon the Doctrine of Monroe," or if forcible intervention was "merely a move of Jewish avarice upon the part of the kaiser."⁵⁶ Another writer ironically interpreted the affair in these words:

⁵² *Venezuela ante el conflicto con las potencias aliadas*, vol. II, p. 321.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 189, 190. ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 129, 130. ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 143. ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

After great preliminary labors by Imperial diplomacy in order to lull the suspicions of the United States . . . assured of the humiliating cooperation of England, Germany bombarded Puerto Cabello in an Homeric combat in which only one man was wounded, a German, and one war vessel damaged, the *Vineta*; and the blockade of the Venezuelan coasts was divided between uncle and nephew. . . . History will say that in the first adventure undertaken by the kaiser he was defeated, and that the check given to his marines at the entrance to Lake Maracaibo was followed by the slap administered to his diplomats at Washington.⁵⁷

In the meantime diplomats of the United States were attempting to promote the adjustment of the dispute by peaceful means. That government shortly announced that Venezuela had requested it to transmit an offer of mediation to Berlin and London.⁵⁸ For this purpose the Venezuelan Government conferred full powers upon the United States minister at Caracas, Herbert W. Bowen.⁵⁹ According to the biographer of John Hay, who had access to inedited manuscripts, it was not until after President Roosevelt had vigorously threatened to send Admiral Dewey's fleet to the coast of Venezuela to end the blockade, that the German Emperor yielded to the proposal to arbitrate.⁶⁰

Certain it is that, after Minister Bowen had negotiated with the blockading powers on behalf of Venezuela, on February 13, 1903, the blockade was raised. At the same time tentative agreements were reached between Venezuela and each of those powers by which the Venezuelan Government recognized in principle the justice of the claims and by which the powers agreed to submit their claims to mixed commissions. Shortly afterward similar protocols were signed between Venezuela, on the one hand, and the United States, Mexico, France, Holland, Belgium, Norway and Sweden, and Spain, on the other hand. As the blockading powers demanded that their claims should be paid first, while Venezuela proposed to treat all her creditors alike, by mutual consent the demand for preferential treatment

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 292, 293.

⁵⁸ Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. vi, p. 590.

⁵⁹ *Venezuela ante el conflicto con las potencias aliadas*, vol. I, pp. 100, 103.

⁶⁰ Thayer, *The Life and Letters of John Hay*, vol. II, pp. 286-88.

was referred to the Hague Tribunal.⁶¹ In accordance with the protocols, in June, 1903, ten mixed commissions sat at Caracas to adjudicate the claims,—commissions which reduced the aggregate amount due the ten powers to about one-fifth of their original claims.⁶² The United States received over two and a quarter million dollars on behalf of the claims of her citizens against Venezuela. On February 22, 1904, the Hague Tribunal decided that the three blockading powers were entitled to preferential treatment, declaring that after 1901 the Venezuelan Government had categorically refused to submit its controversy with England and Germany to arbitration and that during the diplomatic negotiations Venezuela had always made a distinction between "the allied powers" and "the neutral or pacific powers."⁶³ In a message to congress in 1904 President Castro thus expressed his appreciation of the policy of the United States:

We should remember, as a proof of that harmony and cordiality, the interest which the President and the people of the American Union showed toward Venezuela in the unfortunate days of our international disturbance. The good offices of the First Magistrate of that friendly nation were interposed more than once to obtain a pacific solution and avoid the action which was then threatened against us.⁶⁴

More significant perhaps than the results achieved by the arbitration of the claims against Venezuela were the reactions produced by the attempt of European powers to collect by force. One reaction was President Roosevelt's categorical declaration in his annual message of December, 1901, that the coercion of a Hispanic-American state was not contrary to the Monroe Doctrine, provided that such punishment did "not take the form of the acquisition of territory by any non-American power." A year later Roosevelt declared that each state should "maintain order within its own borders," and "discharge its just obligations

⁶¹ *Venezuela ante el conflicto con las potencias aliadas*, vol. I, pp. 103-13, 157-84; *The Venezuelan Arbitration before the Hague Tribunal, 1903*, pp. 23-43; Malloy, *Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols, and Agreements between the United States and Other Powers*, vol. II, pp. 1872-78.

⁶² *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1904, p. 871; Latané, *America as a World Power*, p. 275.

⁶³ *The Venezuelan Arbitration before the Hague Tribunal, 1903*, pp. 108, 109.

⁶⁴ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1904, pp. 871, 872.

to foreigners." He said that when this was done they could rest assured "that, be they strong or weak, they have nothing to dread from outside interference."⁶⁵

These statements, as well as the blockade of Venezuela because of her failure to pay certain claims, some of which were based upon obligations assumed by the Venezuelan state, provoked the enunciation of the Drago Doctrine, which may be designated a South American corollary of the Monroe Doctrine. The Drago Doctrine was, in the main, a restatement of the Calvo Doctrine which should first be understood. In his treatise on international law, the third edition of which was published in 1880, Carlos Calvo, an eminent Argentine publicist, declared that "according to strict international right the recovery of debts and the pursuit of private claims does not justify *de plano* the armed intervention of governments, and, since European states invariably follow this rule in their reciprocal relations, there is no reason why they should not impose it upon themselves in their relations with the nations of the New World."⁶⁶ This Argentine publicist denied the responsibility of states for injuries suffered by foreigners in internal disturbances; for to admit the principle of indemnity in such cases, said Calvo, "would be to create an exorbitant and fatal privilege essentially favorable to powerful states and injurious to weaker nations, and to establish an unjustifiable equality between citizens and foreigners." He declared that to sanction such a doctrine would be to countenance an attack upon the territorial jurisdiction of a state,— "a constituent element of national independence."⁶⁷

On December 29, 1902, in a note to García Mérou, Argentina's minister in Washington, Luis M. Drago, the Argentine secretary of foreign relations, formulated the doctrine which bears his name. That secretary purposely omitted from the purview of his doctrine claims arising from revolts and wars. In his own words, Drago presented "some considerations with reference to the forcible collection of the public debt suggested by the events which have taken place." He declared that with regard to

⁶⁵ Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. vi, p. 594.

⁶⁶ Calvo, *Le droit international*, vol. I, p. 308.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 434.

loans made to a foreign state, a capitalist necessarily considered the attendant circumstances which would affect repayment and made the terms correspondingly hard. With emphasis he maintained that proceedings could not properly be instituted against a sovereign state: a state was bound to meet her obligations; but she had the right "to choose the manner and the time of payment." The cardinal principle which he enunciated was that the public debt of a Hispanic-American nation could "not occasion armed intervention nor even the actual occupation of the territory of American nations by a European power."⁶⁸ Evidently the Argentine Government feared that forcible intervention for the collection of public debts might lead to the subversion of Spanish-American governments by European monarchies.⁶⁹

As compared with the original Monroe Doctrine, the Calvo and Drago Doctrines were much narrower. Both collateral doctrines were protests against certain practices which had been pursued by European nations in the collection of debts in Hispanic America. In his treatise Calvo argued against the use of force by those nations to collect private debts. Drago's famous note was an official protest against armed intervention by European nations for the collection of debts incurred by a Hispanic-American state.⁷⁰

What was the attitude of the United States Government toward Drago's note? In Secretary Hay's response, dated February 17, 1903, he did not express either "assent to or dissent from the propositions ably set forth" in that note and stated that "the general position of the Government of the United States in the matter" had been "indicated in recent messages of the President," referring specifically to the annual messages of 1901 and 1902.⁷¹ But on December 5, 1905, in his message to Congress President Roosevelt took the view that attempts of foreign nations to collect by force contract debts

⁶⁸ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1903, pp. 1-5.

⁶⁹ See further, Drago, "State Loans in their Relation to International Policy," in *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 1, pt. II, pp. 708, 709.

⁷⁰ Hershey, "The Calvo and Drago Doctrines," in *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 1, p. 31.

⁷¹ Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. VI, pp. 593, 594.

which were due by Hispanic-American republics to citizens of the collecting nations would embarrass the United States as the result might be the permanent acquisition of American territory. He expressed the desire that "all foreign governments would take the same view" as the United States government and would refuse "to enforce such contractual obligations" on behalf of their citizens "by an appeal to arms."⁷²

In connection with these statements should be noticed the President's significant declaration in the previous year. On December 6, 1904, in his message to Congress, Roosevelt said:

Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and, in the Western Hemisphere, the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power.⁷³

That declaration, which was designated the "Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine," soon beckoned logical statesmen into endless vistas of diplomatic action.

The first state to invite the application of this corollary was a Caribbean republic. Revolts, dictatorships, peculation, and anarchy had reduced the Dominican Republic to a condition of chronic and apparently hopeless bankruptcy. In September, 1904, the Dominican debt was estimated at a little over thirty-two million dollars. Over one-half of the indebtedness was held by citizens of Belgium, England, France, Germany, and Spain, while a relatively small part of it was held by citizens of the United States. The Dominican annual revenue was estimated at one million eight hundred and fifty thousand dollars, while the annual expenditures, including payments on the indebtedness and arrearages, amounted to three million nine hundred thousand dollars.⁷⁴ Early in 1905 fears were entertained in the city of Santo Domingo that an attempt might be

⁷² *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1905, p. xxxiv.

⁷³ Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. vi, pp. 596, 597.

⁷⁴ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1905, p. 302.

made to collect the debts by force.⁷⁵ It seemed possible that European creditor nations might seize Dominican ports to administer the customs:—the forcible collection of debts might lead to the occupation of territory for an indefinite period. Secretary Hay cabled Minister Dawson in the city of Santo Domingo instructing him to ascertain the sentiments of the Dominican Government with regard to aid from the United States. To this inquiry that government made a favorable response.⁷⁶

After negotiations by Minister Dawson and Captain Dillingham for Secretary Hay and by Secretaries Sánchez and Velásquez for the Dominican Republic, a protocol was signed in February, 1905. This protocol provided that the United States Government should adjust all debts of the Dominican Government and should fix the amount of outstanding claims. The United States should take charge of all custom houses of the insolvent government; she should deliver to the Dominican Republic forty-five per cent of the customs receipts for the payment of current expenses. With the remaining revenue the United States was to meet the expenses of customs administration, as well as those payments which might be due of the interest and principal of the Dominican debt. There should be no vital changes in duties and taxes without the consent of the United States. That government was to furnish such other assistance as might be proper to restore the credit, maintain the order, and promote the welfare of the Dominican Republic.⁷⁷

That protocol, however, was not ratified by the Senate. But an informal arrangement embodying the main fiscal provisions of the protocol was sanctioned by Roosevelt.⁷⁸ In championing that executive agreement Sr. Velásquez, Dominican secretary of commerce, aptly declared that if his nation did not pay her creditors there would come a day on which, "tired of waiting and pleading, the European governments will occupy our cus-

⁷⁵ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1905, pp. 208, 355, 357, 358.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 298, 300.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 342, 343. See also Hollander, "The Convention of 1907 between the United States and the Dominican Republic," in *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 289, 290.

⁷⁸ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1905, pp. 365, 366.

toms houses to get those debts and perhaps part of our territory. If that time should come, the American Government will either have to back down in its foreign policy, confessing that the Monroe Doctrine is a laughable phantasm, or undertake a war with powerful nations, or pay those debts, or guarantee their payment, charging itself with their collection.”⁷⁹

President Roosevelt put the executive agreement into force early in April, 1905. George R. Colton was placed in charge of the administration of Dominican customs, with the right to choose his own subordinates.⁸⁰ On July 1, 1905, Minister Dawson summarized the results of the new system as follows: active plotting against the Dominican Government had ceased; abandoned plantations had been again placed under cultivation; the Dominican Republic had more money than ever before; she was not compelled to make any more short time loans; she was no longer in danger of seizure by foreign powers; and she could negotiate equitable terms for the liquidation of her indebtedness.⁸¹ In his annual message to the Dominican congress on February 27, 1906, speaking of the operation of the *modus vivendi*, President Cáceres said: “Peculation and extraordinary military expenditures have been the bottomless pits in which the nation’s wealth has disappeared. To chaos has succeeded regularity. During the last year our receipts have covered the appropriations made by the law of public expenditures, and on December 31, 1905, the deposit in the National Bank of New York amounted to \$815,027.13 gold—a sum destined to the payment of the interest and amortization of our debts.”⁸²

The general improvement in conditions in the Dominican Republic under the *modus vivendi* reenforced sentiment in the United States in favor of a more permanent arrangement. On February 8, 1907, a convention was signed providing for “the Assistance of the United States in the Collection and Application of the Customs Revenues of the Dominican Republic.”⁸³

⁷⁹ As quoted from Deschamps, *La República Dominicana*, by Jones, *Caribbean Interests of the United States*, p. 115.

⁸⁰ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1905, p. 367.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 379-81.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 569.

⁸³ Malloy, *Treaties*, vol. 1, pp. 418-20.

This treaty, proclaimed on July 25, provided, in brief, that the Government of the United States should administer the customs of the Dominican Republic through officials appointed by its President for the service of her debt as adjusted and bonded by it.⁸⁴ The article in the proposed treaty of 1905 which authorized the United States to furnish that republic such further assistance as might be necessary, interpreted to mean a virtual protectorate, was not included in this treaty.

The results of the administration of Dominican customs by the United States benefited that republic greatly. Although revolutions have not ceased, yet the republic has been relatively quiet. Customs receipts during the first year of the *modus vivendi* amounted to more than two and one-half million dollars, the largest receipts that had been recorded in Dominican history, an amount which exceeded the receipts for the preceding year by six hundred and fifty thousand dollars.⁸⁵ Between 1905 and 1914 imports into the Dominican Republic more than doubled, while the exports increased about one-half.⁸⁶ The methods used in the collection of the revenue were improved: smuggling evidently decreased. Certain public utilities, as telephones and electric light, were widely introduced, and harbors have been improved. The Dominican debt was much reduced by payments from the customs revenues and also through the readjustments promoted by a restored credit.⁸⁷ By the action of their government those creditors who were citizens of the United States received the same treatment as citizens of the European nations which threatened to intervene. Intervention by European nations was made unnecessary, while the territorial integrity of the Dominican Republic was preserved.⁸⁸ More recently, however, the military occupation of that republic by the United States forces has deprived her of political autonomy.

The Doctrine of Monroe when used to justify intervention

⁸⁴ Malloy, vol. I, pp. 418-20; Hollander, "The Dominican Convention and Its Lessons," in *Journal of Race Development*, vol. IV, p. 399.

⁸⁵ *Annual Report, Dominican Customs Receivership under the American-Dominican Convention*, 1907, p. 11.

⁸⁶ See statistics in Jones, p. 118.

⁸⁷ See especially, *Annual Report, Dominican Customs Receivership*, 1907, pp. 4-18; *ibid.*, 1906, pp. 10-29.

⁸⁸ Hollander, "The Dominican Convention and Its Lessons," *loc. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 408.

alarmed the publicists of Hispanic America. In 1905 a Venezuelan writer, Domingo B. Castillo thus voiced his fears:

According to the latest interpretation given to the elastic Monroe Doctrine, the New World is the property of the United States. . . . The new interpreters of Monroeism entertain with respect to South America a vast evolutionary project,—remote in its realization and uncertain in its results, but nevertheless they cherish it. And they move toward the realization of their ideal with the tenacity of their race without considering the rights of another race or the violence that would be necessary to consummate their colossal ambitions. In the face of these facts, it is the duty of South American governments and statesmen to consider the magnitude of the peril that threatens us. . . . In a shameful manner the United States dreams of her national aggrandizement and believes that she can execute her plans without obstacles by the aid of the Platt Amendment which is fastened upon Cuba by virtue of the law of conquest. That law is the useful formula of the colonial policy of the United States. The Dominican Republic has just succumbed to it and by such a singular event the government of that republic has been placed under the authority of a foreign power.⁸⁹

While the United States was preventing forcible intervention by European nations in the Dominican Republic, in conjunction with certain nations of Hispanic America she was exercising an influence upon the Peace Conference at The Hague. At the First Hague Conference in 1899 New World interests were represented only by delegates from Mexico and the United States. In 1907 delegates appeared from all the important American states. The tentative program for that conference, prepared by the chancellor of Russia, mentioned that the United States Government had reserved the right of submitting a proposal "to observe some limitations upon the use of force for the collection of ordinary public debts arising out of contracts."⁹⁰

On behalf of the United States General Porter presented to the Conference a proposition that when there were contractual debts owing from one nation to the citizens of another nation, the powers represented would agree "not to have recourse to

⁸⁹ Castillo, *Venezuela y el Monroeísmo*, pp. 5, 6.

⁹⁰ Scott, *Texts of the Peace Conferences at the Hague*, p. 109.

armed force for the collection of such contractual debts.” This agreement was not to be operative, however, when the debtor state declined an offer of arbitration, or failed to comply with an arbitral award, or made a compromise impossible.⁹¹ While the main principle embodied in the Porter proposition was approved by many delegates, yet there were some delegates who thought that it was too radical, and others who thought that it was unduly conservative. Drago, who was a delegate from Argentina, made three objections to the project: that it did not limit the arbitration of debts arising from ordinary contracts exclusively to cases in which the courts of the debtor country had refused to dispense justice; that it seemed to include public debts as subject to arbitration; and that it did not absolutely exclude the use of force or the occupation of American soil as the result of disputes concerning public debts.⁹² Upon one or another of his objections Drago secured support from delegates of Hispanic-American states. Pérez Triana of Colombia took a more extreme position than Drago, arguing that military aggression should not be employed in case of any pecuniary dispute under any circumstances whatsoever.⁹³ But the prominent Brazilian publicist, Ruy Barbosa, opposed those arguments. This publicist maintained that Drago’s Doctrine was “the theory of the abuse of sovereignty”; and that “by making a high appeal to the Monroe Doctrine,” it would compromise that doctrine.⁹⁴

The Porter proposition was finally approved by thirty-nine delegations.⁹⁵ Among the Spanish-American republics which voted affirmatively nine made reservations about its interpretation.⁹⁶ Through the joint action of the United States and some Spanish-American nations a formal disapproval of military aggression for the collection of certain contractual debts was thus inscribed upon the records of the Second Hague Conference.

In 1907 a South American diplomat formulated a new doctrine

⁹¹ Hull, *Two Hague Conferences*, p. 352.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 358, 359.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 364.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 361, 362.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 370; Scott, pp. 193-98.

⁹⁶ Scott, pp. 341-43.

—not altogether unrelated to the Monroe Doctrine—which was destined to be of some influence in Hispanic America. The diplomat who thus made his name famous in international life was Carlos R. Tobar, who had represented Ecuador as minister at various capitals and had also served as secretary of foreign affairs for that republic.

From Barcelona, on March 15, 1907, Carlos R. Tobar addressed an open letter to the Bolivian consul at Brussels. In that letter Tobar expressed satisfaction at the conditions existing in the Hispanic-American nations. He was pleased that Bolivia was no longer suffering from militarism; that the rulers of Brazil had a desire to progress peacefully which was in proportion to the size of her territory; that the cosmopolitan Argentine people were ruled not by the sword but by intelligence and talent; that Chileans had always refused to elect barrack room soldiers to the presidency; that Peru, chastened by adversity, had begun to advance marvellously; and that, in a reaction from the throes of revolution, Colombia was directing her energies into the arts of peace. With regard to the other states of Hispanic America, he declared that, except a few unfortunate nations, they were happy; for intelligence was being substituted for force. "Happy, a thousand times happy! They begin to occupy themselves with a future which is not obscured by the barbarous smoke of powder!"⁹⁷

Tobar said that Europe and the United States no longer viewed with disdain peoples who had previously been characterized as ungovernable. Various matters concerning the progress and culture of the Hispanic-American peoples had been discussed in sessions of Pan-American congresses. At none of those meetings, however, had there been considered a topic of cardinal importance for those nations; unfortunately there had not been presented for the sanction of a Pan-American congress a doctrine which would put an end to revolutions in Hispanic America. The Ecuadorian diplomat formulated his doctrine in the following words:

⁹⁷ As quoted by García, "Estudio sobre la doctrina Tobar," in *Trabajos del cuarto congreso científico*, vol. xx, p. 327.

The American republics, for the good name and credit of them all, if not because of humanitarian and "altruistic" considerations, ought to intervene, at least in a mediatory and indirect manner, in the internal dissensions of the republics of the continent. Such intervention could at least refuse recognition to *de facto* governments that had been established by revolutions against the constitutional regime.⁹⁸

This publicist argued that the doctrine of intervention was not without some support from eminent writers upon international law. He maintained that wise philanthropists were using all the resources of science to check tuberculosis, to secure the protection of women and children, and to promote the welfare of the farmer and the laborer. In the sanguinary conflicts of nation against nation, said Tobar, the artist could find themes for pictures and statues; but in the struggles between brothers the philosopher could find only such degrading practices as espionage and vengeance. He asked why a peace conference at The Hague or a Pan-American congress should not consider the means of preventing internecine war. In particular, he declared, were the leading Hispanic-American republics interested in bringing to an end the scandals which had provoked certain persons to apply to Spanish America the adjectives "ungovernable," "revolutionary," and "savage!"⁹⁹

Tobar's proposal that the American republics should adopt a policy of joint intervention in order to check internal dissensions naturally provoked discussion. In particular was it criticized as being Utopian, and as containing a threat against the independence and sovereignty of Hispanic-American states.¹⁰⁰ It embodied a doctrine, however, that had already been expressed in a milder form by other Spanish-American publicists.¹⁰¹ The applicability of this doctrine to certain republics was recognized in the very year that Tobar's letter was published. For circumstances affording a chance to apply the so-called Tobar Doctrine arose in stormy Central America.

A war which broke out between Nicaragua and Salvador before Tobar formulated that doctrine was ended largely by the

⁹⁸ García, "Estudio sobre la doctrina Tobar," *loc. cit.*, vol. xx, p. 327.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 328, 329.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 329.

¹⁰¹ *International American Conference*, vol. iv, p. 173; Torres Caicedo, *Unión latinoamericano*, pp. 131, 132.

good offices of Mexico and the United States. In April, 1907, the belligerents signed a convention which provided that, pending the adoption of a general arbitration treaty by the Central American nations, differences arising between them should be settled by the arbitration of the Presidents of Mexico and the United States. Thus the principle that it was the duty of the United States to preserve peace in Central America was apparently sanctioned by Nicaragua.¹⁰² Shortly afterwards, in view of threatened war between Nicaragua and Salvador, Presidents Díaz and Roosevelt proposed a Peace Conference of all the states of Central America.¹⁰³ A preliminary meeting of the ministers of the Central American states and representatives of the United States and Mexico was held at Washington in September, 1907. At that meeting the Central American republics agreed to send delegates to a conference at Washington in order to discuss the measures which were necessary to adjust any differences that existed between those republics and to conclude "a Treaty which shall define their general relations."¹⁰⁴

Accordingly, an invitation to attend such a conference was soon extended to the republics of Central America by Presidents Díaz and Roosevelt. Each of the five republics accepted the invitation and appointed delegates. In November and December, 1907, those delegates, as well as representatives of Mexico and the United States, assembled at Washington. They were called to order by Secretary of State Elihu Root, who made an address suggesting the need of "some practical methods" by which to execute agreements.¹⁰⁵ Several conventions were arranged concerning peace and amity, extradition, communications, and future conferences; while other conventions made provision for a Central American court of justice, a pedagogical institute, and a Central American bureau.¹⁰⁶

The last mentioned convention stipulated that the five repub-

¹⁰² *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1907, vol. II, pt. II, pp. 633, 634.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 638. On the joint mediation of the United States and Mexico in Central America in 1906, see p. 153, *infra*.

¹⁰⁴ *Monthly Bulletin of the International Bureau of the American Republics*, vol. XXV, no. 6, p. 1335.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 1337-39.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 1345-68.

lies should establish a bureau composed of one delegate from each republic, the expenses to be borne equally by the signatory powers. This bureau was to promote the interests of Central America: peace, education, commerce, and agriculture; as well as to encourage uniform civil, criminal, and commercial legislation. It was to maintain an organ of publicity; and it was also to serve as a medium of intelligence.¹⁰⁷

Article I of the treaty of peace and amity declared that one of the first duties of the contracting parties was "the maintenance of peace"; that they bound themselves to preserve harmony; and that they would decide in the Central American court of justice any difficulties which might arise between them. Another article provided that the citizens of each state were to enjoy the same civil rights as citizens in the other states and were to be exempt from loans, extraordinary contributions, and forced military service. When properly authenticated, public instruments executed in one republic were to be valid in the others. To encourage coastwise commerce among the five republics, each of them agreed to promote a national merchant marine. It was stipulated that the territory of Honduras should be absolutely neutral. Revolutionary chieftains should not be allowed to live in regions adjacent to a country whose peace they might disturb.¹⁰⁸ A supplementary convention provided that the five governments should promote a reform by which their presidents could not be reelected. This convention also stipulated that no republic should recognize any government that came into existence by revolution until the freely elected representatives of the people should constitutionally reorganize the country. No Central American government should intervene in favor of either of the contending parties in a republic which was torn by civil war.¹⁰⁹

The convention respecting a Central American court of justice declared that the five republics had established that court in order to avoid appeals to force. A permanent tribunal should be established at Cartago in Costa Rica composed of one judge

¹⁰⁷ *Monthly Bulletin of the International Bureau of the American Republics*, vol. xxv, no. 6, pp. 1364-66.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 1345-50.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1350, 1351.

from each state, to hold office for five years. That tribunal was to have jurisdiction over controversies concerning which the respective chancelleries could not agree. It was to take cognizance of controversies between a citizen of a Central American state and the government of another state. It was also to consider disputes submitted by common consent of the contracting governments, as well as cases submitted by special agreement between a contracting state and a foreign state. The contracting republics agreed to enforce the court's decrees.¹¹⁰ Delegates from Honduras and Nicaragua urged that such a court was not enough to satisfy the desires of the Central American people and that a more intimate relationship was desirable. A Honduran delegate avowed that the union of the five states into one federal republic was necessary. But delegates from other states held that a Central American republic was little more than a noble aspiration.¹¹¹

In the convention supplementary to the general treaty of peace and amity the delegates of the contracting republics made important provisions about their international relations. Article I of this convention provided that the contracting governments should not recognize any other government that might "come into power in any of the five Republics in consequence of a coup d'état, or of a revolution against the recognized Government, so long as the representatives of the people, freely elected," had not reorganized that nation in a constitutional manner. There was a stipulation in the second article that in case a civil war broke out in any Central American state no other republic should intervene either for or against the government of the distracted republic. The third article recommended that the republics of Central America should endeavor to procure a constitutional reform by prohibiting the reelection of the president and by promoting the practice of alternation in office.¹¹² Whether they were aware of it or not, in the first of those articles—as well as in certain articles of the general treaty—the

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 1351, 1357.

¹¹¹ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1907, pt. II, pp. 670-72.

¹¹² *Monthly Bulletin of the International Bureau of the American Republics*, vol. XXV, pp. 1350, 1351.

Central Americans had embodied the essential principle of the Tobar Doctrine.¹¹³

The Peace Conference of 1907 seemed to form a bright page in the annals of Central America. On May 25, 1908, in the presence of commissioners from Mexico and the United States, the court of justice was inaugurated at Cartago.¹¹⁴ With funds furnished by Andrew Carnegie, a beautiful "temple of peace" was erected for its use. Not only was this court significant because of the broad powers assigned to it as an arbiter, but also because it constituted a definite step toward unity—the true solution for many Central American ills. In December, 1908, this court rendered a verdict in a case where the allegation was made that Guatemala and Salvador were instigating a revolution in Honduras.¹¹⁵ The attitude of the court evidently was not without influence in checking interference by one or more states in the affairs of a neighbor; but despite the extraordinary jurisdiction which it at times exercised revolutions in Central America did not cease.¹¹⁶

In February, 1909, President José Santos Zelaya, the dictator of Nicaragua, promoted a filibustering expedition against Salvador. To promote the observance of the conventions of 1907 the United States Government sent warships to Central America. A formidable revolt broke out in Nicaragua in October, 1909; and in December of that year Secretary of State Knox handed the Nicaraguan chargé at Washington his passports, declaring that Zelaya had kept Central America in turmoil, that he had flagrantly violated the provisions of the Washington conventions, and had sought to discredit "those sacred international obligations" to the disadvantage of other Central American governments which had attempted to observe them.¹¹⁷

When General Madriz, who succeeded Zelaya, passed from power, the government of Nicaragua, profiting by the example of the Dominican Republic, appealed to the United States for advice about its fiscal and political reorganization. In October,

¹¹³ García, "Estudio sobre la doctrina Tobar," *loc. cit.*, vol. xx, pp. 330, 331.

¹¹⁴ *World Peace Foundation*, pamphlet series, vol. vii, no. 1, *The New Pan Americanism*, pt. III, p. 131.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 136, 137.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 137-44.

¹¹⁷ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1909, p. 455.

1910, an agreement was reached between the United States and Nicaragua which provided for a constitutional convention that was to elect Provisional President Estrada as president. This agreement also provided that Nicaragua should take steps to rehabilitate her finances; she was to negotiate a loan that should be secured by her customs duties. Unliquidated claims against the Central American republic should be adjusted in accordance with a plan to be concerted by the United States and Nicaragua.¹¹⁸

By a decree of March 9, 1911, provision was made for the establishment of the Nicaraguan Mixed Claims Commission. The commission was composed of one Nicaraguan and two citizens of the United States, Judge Otto Schoenrich of the district court of Mayaguez, Porto Rico, being designated its president by the State Department at Washington. This commission held regular sessions at Managua from the beginning of 1912 until February, 1915. It early decided upon equitable rules to determine the amount and validity of the claims, which arose from losses suffered during wars or from losses that resulted because of the failure of the Nicaraguan Government to adhere to concessions and contracts which were sometimes unconstitutional. The claims against that government amounted to \$13,808,161; but the commission awarded to the claimants only \$1,840,-432.31.¹¹⁹

In the meantime an attempt was made to initiate the financial supervision of the United States in Central America, as it had been established in the Dominican Republic. On January 10, 1911, Secretary Knox signed a loan convention with Honduras, and on June 6 following he signed a similar treaty with Nicaragua. In brief, the Nicaraguan treaty provided for the refunding of the national debt of Nicaragua and for a loan to that republic by United States bankers which was to be secured by her customs receipts. The collection of Nicaraguan customs was to be supervised by a collector general selected from a list approved by the President of the United States. If circum-

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1910, pp. 763-66.

¹¹⁹ Schoenrich, "The Nicaraguan Mixed Claims Commission," in *American Journal of International Law*, vol. IX, pp. 858-69.

stances should demand, that government was to furnish the requisite protection.¹²⁰ Secretary Knox justified this policy in an address, declaring that the peace and prosperity of Central America and the Caribbean zone, where "the malady of revolutions and financial collapse" was most acute, were of "paramount interest" to the United States. "It would not be sane," said he, "to uphold a great policy like the Monroe Doctrine and to repudiate its necessary corollaries and neglect the sensible measures which reason dictates as safeguards."¹²¹ However, the Nicaraguan and Honduran treaties, embodying what has been called "dollar diplomacy," both failed of ratification in the United States Senate.

Honduras sought another remedy for her financial ills; but Nicaragua turned the supervision of her customs over to a collector who was selected by the United States according to an arrangement which resembled that of 1905 with the Dominican Republic.¹²² On August 5, 1914, a treaty was signed by Nicaragua and the United States which promoted the financial rehabilitation of that Central American republic. The United States Government agreed to pay Nicaragua three million dollars, the expenditure of which it was to supervise. In return the United States was granted the exclusive right to construct and maintain an interoceanic canal across Nicaragua, and she was conceded a lease of Great and Little Corn Islands, near the eastern terminus of the Panamá Canal. Because of objections which had been made to this treaty by Costa Rica, Honduras, and Salvador, when ratifying it on February 18, 1916, the United States Senate adopted a declaration that no provision therein was intended to affect any existing right of any of these states.¹²³

In recent years the United States Government has pursued a policy of interposition toward certain Hispanic-American republics. That government sent a special commission to promote the pacification of the Dominican Republic.¹²⁴ Intervention by the United States in Nicaragua precipitated the down-

¹²⁰ *American Journal of International Law*, Supplement, vol. v, pp. 291-93.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, Supplement, vol. vi, p. 497.

¹²² See further, Munro, *The Five Republics of Central America*, pp. 238-42.

¹²³ *Congressional Record*, vol. LIII, pp. 2770, 2771.

¹²⁴ *Annual Report, Dominican Customs Receivership*, 1913, pp. 27, 28.

fall of President Zelaya.¹²⁵ In Honduras, the United States, cooperating with England, landed marines who occupied territory and secured the establishment of an orderly government.¹²⁶ The policy of forcible intervention or military occupation adopted by the government of the United States toward Central America and the Dominican Republic is not in accordance with the commonly accepted principle of the equality of sovereign states.

What was popularly viewed as a new application or interpretation of the elastic Monroe Doctrine was made during the administration of President Taft. In 1911 the creditors of a United States company which had secured from Mexico a large tract of land on Magdalena Bay upon the western coast of Lower California tried to sell its rights to certain Japanese subjects. There were persons who suspected that the Mikado's government designed to secure a foothold in Magdalena Bay. Senator Lodge felt keenly upon the subject. He introduced into the Senate and that body adopted on August 2, 1912, by a vote of 51 to 4, a resolution as follows:

That when any harbor or other place in the American continents is so situated that the occupation thereof for naval or military purposes might threaten the communication or the safety of the United States, the government of the United States could not see, without grave concern, the possession of such harbor or other place by any corporation or association which has such a relation to another government, not American, as to give that government practical power of control for naval or military purposes.¹²⁷

Thus the Senate placed itself on record as being opposed to the acquisition of a naval station upon the coast of Hispanic America by an Asiatic power.

The continued application of the Monroe Doctrine to cases concerning which Monroe could scarcely have dreamed, naturally provoked fresh apprehensions among South American thinkers. Two illustrations must here suffice. In 1912 a Peruvian littéra-

¹²⁵ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1910, pp. 738-67.

¹²⁶ Brown, "American Intervention in Central America," in *Journal of Race Development*, vol. IV, p. 412.

¹²⁷ *Senate Journal*, 62d Cong., 2d Sess., p. 511.

teur, Francisco García Calderón, wrote about the "North American peril" and said:

The Monroe Doctrine has undergone essential transformations: it has passed successively from the defensive to intervention and thence to the offensive. . . . Interventions have become more frequent with the expansion of frontiers: the United States has recently intervened . . . at Panamá to develop a province and to construct a canal; in Cuba, under cover of the Platt Amendment, to maintain order in the interior; in Santo Domingo to supervise the customhouses; in Venezuela, and in Central America, to impose upon these nations, torn by intestine disorders, the political and financial tutelage of the Imperial democracy. . . . The Monroe Doctrine takes an aggressive form with Mr. Roosevelt, the politician of the "big stick" and intervention à outrance.¹²⁸

It should be noticed that García Calderón tends to confuse the Monroe Doctrine with the Hispanic-American policy of the United States, a tendency from which indeed some writers in the United States have not been altogether free.

A few years later in an address to citizens of the United States a Brazilian diplomat and historian, Manoel de Oliveira Lima, interestingly expressed his views about intervention and the Monroe Doctrine, as follows:

Intervention always implies protection even when it takes place in opposition to the designs of a third party. With or without reason, our people see in intervention a road leading to annexation. Are the Hispanic-American countries doing an injustice to the United States by displaying these jealousies? If you continue to annex isles near the Caribbean Sea and to take possession of canal zones as you have done in the last twenty years, how can you abstain from securing land upon the northern coast of South America? . . . The Isthmus having disappeared, you may make a jump for the other side of the Caribbean and take a seat at the head of our table. Will not Hispanic-American cooperation some day be necessary to check so great an expansive force, or, in other words, to honor a guest who has thus crept into our house? . . . Cooperation would possess the great advantage of uniting dissevered forces under the same management; and the small nations of America, which by virtue of their own forces are unable to

¹²⁸ García Calderón, *Les démocraties latines de l'Amérique*, pp. 280, 281.

offer a suitable resistance, would secure the protection that was necessary to their proper existence. . . . The small nations of the New World simply desire the same treatment which is deemed just and honest toward the small European nations: they are the Belgiums, the Montenegros, and the Servias of our continent, although indeed without the political progress of the first, or the picturesque history of the second, or the tragic memories of the third,—for if dictators have been assassinated in Hispanic America, yet their wives have been spared.¹²⁹

When Woodrow Wilson became President, Mexico was in the throes of revolution. Francisco I. Madero had led a successful revolution against the Mexican Government, and the enforced resignation of President Díaz had been followed by a deluge. A counter-revolution led by a nephew of the ex-president and by General Huerta, a disciple of Díaz, deposed President Madero and, shortly afterwards, the deposed president was assassinated.

Huerta, who had proclaimed himself provisional president, became, in reality, a dictator. On March 4, 1913, a serious problem confronted President Wilson. Should Huerta's government be recognized? Wilson's government decided to refuse recognition largely because Huerta was suspected of having connived at Madero's murder. Thus the test which President Wilson applied to the government of Huerta was not that of the expediency of recognition, or that of the existence of a *de facto* government, but that of the morality of governmental officials. The recognition of President Huerta by other nations did not affect the decision of Wilson's government to pursue a policy of "watchful waiting."¹³⁰

The failure of the United States to recognize Huerta naturally encouraged his enemies. In northern Mexico the forces of the constitutional party led by General Carranza and Francisco Villa gained in strength. After the United States ambassador to Mexico resigned, that government sent there a special agent, John Lind, who proposed to Huerta an adjustment involving a pledge by the latter that he would not become a candidate for election as president. This proposal Huerta disdainfully re-

¹²⁹ Oliveira Lima, "A doutrina de Monroe," in *Revista do Brasil*, vol. II, pp. 12, 13.

¹³⁰ Fish, *American Diplomacy*, pp. 484, 485.

jected.¹³¹ Mexico was torn by dissensions between his friends and his enemies. Property belonging to foreign capitalists was wantonly destroyed. Many citizens of the United States and citizens of European nations lost their lives. Warships of certain European powers hovered about the Mexican Gulf. There were rumors of the intervention of European powers for the protection of their citizens residing in the distracted republic. Prominent nations of South America beheld the specter of intervention by the United States in Mexico with its logical sequel of annexation. Under such circumstances any policy adopted by the United States Government was destined to provoke dissatisfaction. A crisis was precipitated because of an affront to United States sailors at Tampico.

For that affront Admiral Mayo promptly demanded an apology from Huerta in the form of a salute to the flag of the United States. This was refused. Marines from American warships consequently took possession of Vera Cruz, Congress by joint resolution disclaiming any intention to make war upon the Mexican people.¹³² Amid the indignation of certain Mexicans, the A B C powers, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, proposed to mediate in the differences between the United States and Mexico. That proposal was accepted by both parties. On May 20, 1914, ministers of the mediators at Washington signed a protocol providing for the establishment of a provisional government in Mexico.¹³³ Soon afterwards Huerta resigned, and General Carranza became the ruler. Nevertheless, civil war soon broke out again between Mexican factions. In September, 1915, diplomatic representatives of six Hispanic-American states at Washington recommended that Carranza's government should be recognized. Such recognition was soon accorded by the United States and by several other American republics.¹³⁴ Relations between the United States and her southern neighbor were soon complicated again because of Villa's jealousy of Carranza. After a party of bandits led by Villa had in March, 1916,

¹³¹ *World Peace Foundation*, pamphlet series, vol. vi, no. 1, *The New Pan Americanism*, pt. I, pp. 16-19.

¹³² *Ibid.*, no. 2, *The New Pan Americanism*, pt. II, pp. 26, 27. ¹³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-36.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 1, *The New Pan Americanism*, pt. I, pp. 71, 88, 89.

stealthily crossed the border and attacked Columbus, New Mexico, the Government of the United States decided to send a military force in pursuit of Villa's followers. Carranza's government objected to this policy, especially after a second "punitive expedition" crossed the border in pursuit of the elusive Villa.¹³⁵

No satisfactory solution of the Mexican problem had been found. This imbroglio had, however, afforded the A B C powers an opportunity to mediate between Mexico and the United States. Huerta had been forced out. The United States had tried to avoid injuring the susceptibilities of South American peoples. At some cost she had refrained from adopting a policy of forcible intervention in Mexico.

As contrasted with those years when the foundations of diplomatic intercourse were being laid between the United States and the Hispanic-American nations, the period extending from 1861 to the present day was marked by the application of the Monroe Doctrine to disputes arising under circumstances that were more or less different from the historic circumstances which provoked that doctrine. While greeting with applause the application of the Monroe Doctrine to cases in which the forcible intervention of European powers threatened to deprive a Hispanic-American state of her territory or her political autonomy, Hispanic-American publicists and writers have occasionally been inclined to resent the exercise of an authority by the United States which was obviously not in strict accordance with the original Doctrine. Three Hispanic-American diplomats, Calvo, Drago, and Tobar, proposed doctrines which may be considered as collateral to the Doctrine of Monroe.

During this period the United States Government intervened in Cuba. Intervention in that island was significant because it established a precedent with regard to the attitude of the United States toward the affairs of a Hispanic-American nation. Adherence to the Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine led to intervention by the United States in the affairs of the Dominican Republic. A policy of fiscal intervention, which Secre-

¹³⁵ See further, Moore, *The Principles of American Diplomacy*, pp. 227-38.

tary Knox viewed as not unrelated to the Monroe Doctrine, has also been applied in recent years to Central America. During the present century the United States has developed a special interest in Nicaragua, Panamá, Cuba, and the republics upon the island of Santo Domingo, an interest which has induced careful students to declare that she exercises a protectorate over those nations. That relation has been viewed with increasing concern by some statesmen of Hispanic America.

CHAPTER V

MEDIATION, ARBITRATION, AND DIPLOMATIC ADJUSTMENTS

The mediatory policy of the United States in a controversy between Argentina and France—In a dispute between President Urquiza and Buenos Aires—In the Paraguayan War—In the war between Spain and Republics on the Pacific—In “the War of the Pacific”—In a Central American war—The policy of the United States toward Hispanic-American boundary controversies—Toward Argentina’s boundary controversies—Toward boundary controversies of Central American nations—The Cerruti Affair—Disputes between the United States and Hispanic-American states because of injuries to United States citizens or property—Diplomatic adjustments and arbitral processes—President Wilson’s peace proposal—Disputes concerning sovereign rights of Hispanic-American nations—The Mexican boundary—The Lobos Islands—The Falkland Islands—The Panamá Affair.

In the relations between the Hispanic-American states and their neighbor in the North, there have arisen in the course of a century many questions of a controversial character. Those questions sprang from a variety of circumstances, accidental, economic, fiscal, political. To narrate in detail the history of all of those controversies is manifestly beyond the scope of the present volume. Certain inter-American relationships which occasionally partook of the controversial character were discussed in the preceding chapter. The purpose of this chapter is to consider some other disputes between the United States and the Hispanic-American nations which were generally settled by diplomatic means. Considerable attention will be devoted to controversies involving the Hispanic-American nations in which the United States Government essayed the rôle of arbitrator or mediator.

An early attempt by an official of the United States to mediate in an international dispute about a Hispanic-American country was concerned with a controversy between Argentina and France. That controversy originated in the objections of

the French consul in Buenos Aires to a law of Argentina which required military service from Frenchmen who were domiciled in that country. By way of reprisal in March, 1838, Admiral Leblanc of the French navy declared a blockade of the Argentine litoral of the Río de la Plata. It has been presumed that this drastic procedure was partly due to the French dislike for Juan Manuel de Rosas, dictator of the "Argentine Confederation." However that may be, in the following year a commander of the United States naval forces on the coast of South America tried to reconcile Argentina and France. On April 4, 1839, Captain John Nicholson, who had arrived with the United States frigate *Fairfield* in la Plata River, addressed a note to Dictator Rosas making certain suggestions which he thought might serve as a basis for the settlement of the differences between Argentina and France. Among those suggestions was a stipulation that Argentina should pay an indemnity to French citizens who had suffered injuries by her policy. Nicholson offered the decks of the *Fairfield* as neutral territory where representatives of the contending parties might treat.¹

Eight days later Rosas sent Nicholson a letter declaring that he would negotiate with accredited agents of France and enclosing his proposals for the adjustment of the differences. Among those propositions was a stipulation that French citizens in Argentina should enjoy the same protection and should be subject to the same obligations as previously. Rosas also proposed an agreement that French citizens who had been injured by unjust acts of Argentina should be indemnified, and that France should indemnify Argentina for damages caused by the blockade of the Río de la Plata.² Through Nicholson those propositions were soon transmitted to Admiral Leblanc and M. Martigny, the French chargé in Montevideo. But, as Nicholson had foreseen, the proposals of Rosas were unacceptable to the French.³ After those proposals had been declined, in May,

¹ Correspondencia sostenida entre el excmo. gobierno de Buenos-Aires encargado de las relaciones exteriores de la confederación argentina, y el sr. Juan B. Nicolson, capitán comandante de las fuerzas navales de los Estados Unidos sobre la costa del Brasil y Río de la Plata, sobre la cuestión promovida por los ss. agentes de la Francia, pp. 2-8.

² Correspondencia sostenida entre el excmo., pp. 13-21.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-30.

1839, Felipe Arana, the secretary of foreign relations for Dictator Rosas, was directed by his master to express appreciation and gratitude at Nicholson's attempt to adjust the differences.⁴ Possibly that attempt was not unconnected with the fact that on October 29, 1840, a convention was signed between Argentina and France which made stipulations concerning the settlement of their grievous controversy.

Another occasion for the adjustment of a dispute over Argentine affairs arose during the internecine war between President Urquiza of Argentina and the province of Buenos Aires, which declined to recognize his authority. On July 1, 1859, Benjamin C. Yancey, the United States chargé at Paraná—Urquiza's capital—addressed a note to Urquiza proposing the mediation of the United States in that war. This proposal was promptly accepted by Urquiza.⁵ Yancey then proceeded from Paraná to the city of Buenos Aires where he initiated peace negotiations with the provincial government. At an interview upon August 10, 1859, the provincial officials absolutely refused to take any measure preliminary to a cessation of hostilities until President Urquiza relinquished his civil and military power. If that retirement took place, those officials declared that Buenos Aires would participate in a national convention to revise the Constitution of 1853. The demand for the retirement of the president of the Argentine Confederation—set forth as a *sine qua non* to the cessation of hostilities—was unacceptable to Urquiza, and the attempt at mediation by Minister Yancey terminated abruptly.⁶

The United States also proffered her good offices in a foreign war which involved Argentina. That conflict originated in 1864 in a difference between Brazil and Paraguay. Argentina entered the conflict by virtue of an offensive and defensive alliance which was signed on May 1, 1865, between Brazil, Uruguay, and herself against Paraguay. According to that treaty, the three allies, declaring that their quarrel was not with

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁵ *Confederación argentina, documentos oficiales: mediación del encargado de negocios de los Estados Unidos de América, d. Benjamin Yancey, en la cuestión de la integridad nacional y proclama del presidente de la confederación argentina*, p. 16.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-15, 32, 33.

the people of Paraguay, agreed to make war upon their joint enemy until the Paraguayan government under Dictator López should be overthrown.⁷ After the allies had waged war against Paraguay for more than a year, on December 17, 1866, the House of Representatives of the United States adopted a resolution deprecating the Paraguayan War, as well as the war which was being carried on by Spain upon the Pacific shores of South America, declaring that those wars were "destructive of commerce and prejudicial to republican institutions," and proposing that the United States should offer her "friendly offices" to promote "peace and harmony" in South America.⁸

Three days later Secretary Seward addressed a dispatch to J. W. Webb, United States minister at Rio de Janeiro, proposing that a conference of plenipotentiaries of the nations engaged in the Paraguayan War should be held at Washington. Seward proposed that President Johnson was to select a presiding officer who should use his influence to compose the controversy. If the plenipotentiaries should be unable to reach a decision, that President was to select an umpire to adjust the dispute. Further, he proposed that, when the belligerent nations accepted the proffer of good offices, an armistice should be declared until the peace conference terminated.⁹ On January 21, 1867, Minister Webb brought this proffer to the attention of Antonio C. de Sá e Albuquerque, Imperial minister of foreign affairs.¹⁰ General Asboth, minister of the United States at Buenos Aires, made the attitude of his government known to Argentina.¹¹ The United States minister to Paraguay, C. A. Washburn, made a proffer of mediation to Marquez de Caxias, the commander of the allied armies in the field.¹² When news of the policy of the United States reached the heart of South America, it caused rejoicing in Paraguay. *El semanario*, the official organ of the Paraguayan Government, announced that the friendly mediation of the United States had been accepted

⁷ *Registro oficial de la república argentina*, vol. v, pp. 209, 210.

⁸ *Congressional Globe*, vol. xxxvii, pt. i, p. 152.

⁹ *Relatório do ministro dos estrangeiros*, 1867, pp. 13-15.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-15.

¹¹ Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, vol. ii, pp. 183-85.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 184, 197.

by the supreme government of the republic, alleging that this was the only solution of the conflict which would allow the allies to emerge with honor and dignity.¹³ But when the offer of the United States was laid before the allied governments, it evidently evoked the response that no peace negotiations would be initiated with Paraguay while Dictator López was her ruler.¹⁴ The attempt of the United States Government to mediate accordingly failed: the destructive war continued until that dictator's power was completely annihilated.

Perhaps the most important act of mediation performed for the Hispanic-American republics by the United States was in a war between Spain, on the one hand, and Peru, Chile, Bolivia, and Ecuador, on the other hand. As late as 1860 Spain had not recognized the Peruvian Government. Certain Spaniards still had claims against Peru because of alleged injuries during the wars for independence. In 1863 the occasion for an acute controversy was furnished by a quarrel between Peruvians and Spaniards on the hacienda of Talambo. Shortly afterwards a squadron under Admiral Pinzón, which had been dispatched from Spain ostensibly on a scientific expedition, appeared in the harbor of Callao, and her agent, Salazar y Mazarredo, who was entitled special commissioner, attempted to negotiate with Peru. When the Peruvian Government asked for an explanation of his title, Salazar y Mazarredo rejoined the squadron, and Admiral Pinzón seized the Chincha Islands. For a time Peru refused to treat with Spain's representatives; but in January, 1865, a preliminary treaty of peace and friendship was signed by which Spain agreed to return the Chincha Islands, while Peru promised to pay the Spanish claims and also the expenses of the expedition.¹⁵ This treaty, however, was discredited by a new Peruvian government which broke with Spain and soon allied itself with Chile, Bolivia, and Ecuador against the Spaniards.¹⁶

¹³ *El semanario*, April 20, 1867.

¹⁴ *Relatório do ministro dos estrangeiros*, 1867, pp. 15-7; Washburn, vol. II, pp. 184, 197.

¹⁵ Olivart, *Tratados de España*, vol. v, pp. 167-69.

¹⁶ Aranda, *República del Perú: colección de los tratados, convenciones, capitulaciones, armisticios y otros actos diplomáticos y políticos celebrados desde la independencia hasta el día*, vol. vi, p. 712.

During the war which ensued the Spanish navy bombarded Valparaiso, attacked Callao, and blockaded certain ports of Bolivia and Ecuador. In December, 1866, Secretary Seward sent instructions to the diplomatic agents of the United States at the capitals of the belligerent nations directing them to propose a conference of representatives of those nations in April, 1867, to agree upon a permanent peace. This proposal did not bear fruit, however, because the governments of Chile and Peru desired to evoke from Spain expressions deprecating the seizure of the Chincha Islands and the bombardment of Valparaiso. Seward again tried to convoke a conference in March, 1868, declaring that the "technical continuance" of a state of war occasioned neutral powers "inconvenience" which ought to be terminated by a "formal armistice." Again Spain was willing to accept the mediation of the United States, but all of the republics concerned did not meet Seward's proposals satisfactorily. On October 22, 1869, Secretary Hamilton Fish sent instructions to ministers of the United States at the capitals of the five powers inviting them to send representatives to Washington "for the purpose of a conference with a view to a formal armistice if not a definite peace."¹⁷

Accordingly in Washington, on April 11, 1871, representatives of Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Spain agreed to an armistice which declared that "the suspension of hostilities existing *de facto*" between Spain and those republics was "converted into a general armistice or truce," which should "continue indefinitely" and could not be broken by any signatory power except by notification through the government of the United States of the intention to renew hostilities.¹⁸ At another conference in Washington early in the following year, Secretary Fish tried to induce the five powers to sign a general peace treaty.¹⁹ When this attempt failed, Fish suggested the "expediency of framing separate treaties with Spain." By 1886 such treaties were negotiated by each of the republics con-

¹⁷ Moore, *International Arbitrations*, vol. v, p. 5050; *Memoria que presenta el ministro de estado en el departamento de relaciones exteriores y culto al congreso nacional*, 1870, pp. 10, 11.

¹⁸ Moore, *International Arbitrations*, vol. v, pp. 5050-52; Olivart, *Tratados de España*, vol. vi, pp. 289, 290.

¹⁹ Moore, *International Arbitrations*, vol. v, pp. 5052-56.

cerned.²⁰ As a result of the mediatory policy pursued by the United States, Spain and four South American republics were formally reconciled: a state of war which was detrimental not only to the nominal belligerents but also to neutrals was at last terminated.

The government of the United States also made an attempt to mediate in South America during the "War of the Pacific." This war had its origin in a dispute between Bolivia and Chile. According to the *uti possidetis* of 1810 there was embraced within the limits of Bolivia, the heir of the presidency of Charcas, a strip of land upon the Pacific coast which included the desert of Atacama. When the wars for independence had terminated, within that desert and even within the Peruvian territory further north, enterprising Chileans undertook to exploit the saltpeter deposits. In 1874 Bolivia and Chile attempted to adjust a territorial dispute by a treaty which stated that the parallel of 24°, which ran south of Antofagasta, was recognized as the boundary line between the two nations. Soon afterwards Bolivia ignored a concession which had been made by her former dictator to a Chilean saltpeter company of Antofagasta and levied a tax upon its products. This action was inconsistent with a provision in the treaty of 1874. After a vain attempt to settle the ensuing controversy by diplomacy, on February 14, 1879, the date set by Bolivia for the sale of the saltpeter company's property to pay the imposts, the Chileans took possession of the important Bolivian port of Antofagasta; and, on March 1, Bolivia declared that, because of this armed invasion, a state of war existed between her and Chile. Early in April, after she became officially aware of a defensive treaty between Peru and Bolivia,—Peru having declined to proclaim her neutrality immediately,—Chile declared war upon Bolivia and Peru. Victorious in naval conflicts with Peru's fleet, the Chileans then invaded the Peruvian provinces of Tarapacá, Tacna, and Arica. On January 16, 1881, they captured Lima.

Meantime the United States Government had not been idle.

²⁰ Olivart, vol. VII, pp. 435-38; *ibid.*, vol. VIII, pp. 339, 340; *ibid.*, vol. IX, pp. 25, 26. See also Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. VII, pp. 10, 11.

Partly because of rumors that certain European powers contemplated joint intervention in the war, the ministers of the United States to Chile and Peru had proposed that a peace conference should be held. Such a conference was held at Arica in October, 1880, on board the United States corvette *Lackawanna*. It was attended by representatives of the three republics, and also by the ministers of the United States to those powers. Thomas A. Osborn, United States minister to Chile, declared that his government wished to terminate the war by an honorable and lasting peace. But as the allies considered Chile's preliminary demand for the cession of the Bolivian department of Atacama and the Peruvian province of Tarapacá as an insurmountable obstacle, this attempt at mediation came to naught.²¹ Soon afterwards, Secretary of State Evarts informed Minister Osborn that the United States wished to promote a peace between the belligerents "upon reasonable and honorable terms."²²

A second attempt to mediate was made by the United States after James G. Blaine became secretary of state. On June 15, 1881, in instructions to Kilpatrick and Hurlbut, the new ministers to Chile and Peru respectively, Secretary Blaine stated his views about the peace negotiations. General Hurlbut was instructed to encourage the Peruvians in the establishment of a native and orderly government. He was informed that the United States could not refuse to recognize the rights which Chile had acquired by the success of the war: a cession of territory was possibly the necessary price to be paid for peace. There should, however, be "no preliminary conditions as an ultimatum on either side." Chile should not insist upon the cession of territory as a necessary preliminary.²³ Minister Kilpatrick was instructed to inform the Chilean Government that the United States was ready to furnish her good offices to the warring nations. He was told that the United States recognized the right conferred upon Chile

²¹ *Message from the President of the United States transmitting Papers relating to the War in South America*, pp. 135, 392.

²² *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1881, p. 124.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 914, 915.

by her successful conduct of the war. But Blaine suggested that, only after Bolivia and Peru had failed to offer a reasonable indemnity, would it become a fair subject of consideration whether territory might be exacted as the price of peace. A cession of territory should take place as the result of negotiations: it should not be the "absolute preliminary condition" of the victor. The minister to Chile was to express the hope of the United States that a settlement might be reached without invoking the aid or intervention of any European power.²⁴

At Lima Minister Hurlbut took a decided attitude against the forcible annexation of territory by Chile. His emphatic, and at times, indiscreet statements, concerning the policy of his government encouraged some Peruvians in the belief that the United States might intervene forcibly. The Chilean admiral Lynch sent a cablegram to his government to the effect that Hurlbut had informed the provisional president of Peru, Francisco García Calderón, that, under no circumstances, would the United States permit the annexation of territory by Chile.²⁵ Hurlbut's policy was not supported by Minister Kilpatrick, who publicly criticized his colleague's conduct and thus rendered their cooperation impossible.²⁶

When the United States Government learned that President Calderón, who was opposed to territorial cessions, had been seized by the Chilean authorities at Lima, it entrusted the peace negotiations to W. H. Trescott as special commissioner. Trescott was instructed to express to Chile the disappointment and dissatisfaction of the United States at the insistence of the Chilean Government upon territorial cessions. The United States held that Peru had the right to demand an opportunity to find an indemnity and guarantee. A cession of territory should not be exacted which would much exceed in value "the amplest estimate of a reasonable indemnity." The cession of Tarapacá was not inconsistent with justice. If the good offices of the United States were rejected, that government would hold itself

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-33.

²⁵ Garland, *Derecho internacional americano: los conflictos sudamericanos en relación con los Estados Unidos*, p. 15.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 16; *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1881, pp. 137-41.

free to appeal to the other American republics "to join it in an effort to avert consequences" which could not be confined to Chile and Peru.²⁷

When Trescott arrived in Santiago he was told by the secretary of foreign relations for Chile that she disclaimed any intention of offending the United States in the Calderón affair and that she accepted the good offices of that government. This secretary declared that Chile was ready to make peace upon certain conditions involving the cession of Tarapacá, conditions which Trescott apparently considered harsh.²⁸ At this juncture the publication at Washington of Trescott's instructions as modified by Blaine's successor, Frelinghuysen, discredited that agent, who although stripped of mediatory authority, had been directed to urge moderation upon Chile.²⁹ Trescott soon expressed to Frelinghuysen his opinion that the United States should adopt a definite policy about the peace negotiations, if Peru were not to be led astray.³⁰ The efforts of Logan and Partridge, who had been made ministers of the United States respectively at Lima and Santiago, to mediate in accordance with instructions permitting the transfer of territory were also futile.

The good offices of the United States exerted through her ministers and by the special commissioner accomplished little. Chile finally negotiated treaties of peace with Bolivia and Peru by which she secured control of valuable territory that she considered essential to her future security. Bolivia allowed Chile to exercise sovereignty over the conquered territory lying between the Andes and the ocean. Peru ceded to Chile the province of Tarapacá, while she allowed the conqueror to retain possession of the provinces of Tacna and Arica upon the understanding that, within ten years, their inhabitants should determine by *plébiscite* whether they wished to live under the rule of Chile or of Peru. Some Peruvian writers have indeed suggested that the attempted mediation of the United States,

²⁷ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1881, pp. 143-49.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 61.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 61, 73; Garland, *Derecho internacional americano*, pp. 19, 20.

³⁰ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1882, p. 105.

which helped to prolong Peru's resistance to Chile's terms, eventually injured Peruvian interests. Alejandro Garland, the Peruvian publicist, made this comment:

Peru remembers with sadness the fatal consequences for her of the interference of the great North American Republic in her ill-omened war with Chile; but her misfortune does not so far disturb her judgment as to make her unwilling to recognize the noble intentions which induced the United States to offer her mediation.³¹

The United States was more successful in her policy toward Central America. During a war by Guatemala against Honduras and Salvador in the midsummer of 1906, President Roosevelt secured the cooperation of President Díaz in an attempt to secure peace, ordered the cruiser *Marblehead* to Acajutla, and offered joint mediation by the United States and Mexico. In a cablegram to the presidents of Guatemala and Salvador, Roosevelt said that the war in Central America caused "the gravest concern to the United States." He urged the warring nations to make a settlement and offered the deck of the warship *Marblehead* as "a neutral place" where representatives of Guatemala and Salvador might confer about "terms of agreement."³²

This offer was accepted, the ministers of the United States and Mexico to the belligerent nations were invited to attend the meeting in a friendly capacity, and on July 20, in the presence of representatives of Costa Rica and Nicaragua, a peace treaty was signed between the warring states. Article V of the treaty provided that any disagreement arising from it was to be referred to the presidents of Mexico and the United States for arbitration.³³ In accordance with that convention, representatives of Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, and Salvador soon met at San José and arranged a general treaty of peace, amity, arbitration, and commerce.³⁴

Upon several occasions the United States Government has performed important services to Hispanic-American nations by

³¹ Garland, *Derecho internacional americano*, p. 32.

³² *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1906, pt. I, p. 837.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 848.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 857-63.

acting as an arbitrator or mediator in their boundary disputes. Those disputes ordinarily originated because of the vague or unsettled character of the colonial boundaries which were supposed to determine the *uti possidetis* of 1810.

Certain questions which had arisen between Argentina and Paraguay concerning their boundary were adjusted by a treaty dated February 3, 1876. This treaty provided that the dispute between the two nations about territory located on the right bank of the river Paraguay between the Verde River and the Pilcomayo River, including Villa Occidental, should be submitted to the arbitration of the President of the United States. Within the period stipulated by the treaty diplomatic representatives of the contracting parties at Washington presented to President Hayes memoranda, books, periodicals, documents, and maps in support of their respective contentions.³⁵ On November 12, 1878, after considering the arguments and the evidence submitted, the President announced the award. His decision was that Paraguay was "legally and justly" entitled to the territory between the Pilcomayo and the Verde Rivers.³⁶ Thereupon the Paraguayans changed the name of Villa Occidental to Villa Hayes.

When James G. Blaine became secretary of state under President Garfield there were boundary controversies between Hispanic-American nations which threatened to reach a serious stage. A long standing dispute existed between Guatemala and Mexico involving the title to territory that had been incorporated with Mexico in the days of Agustín I. The government of Guatemala, claiming that it had exhausted peaceful means of settlement, on June 15, 1881, through its minister at Washington, appealed to the United States, "as the natural protector of the integrity of the Central American territory."³⁷

On the following day Secretary Blaine indited a characteristic note to Minister Morgan in the city of Mexico. He declared that the United States was an impartial friend of both parties, ready to tender advice upon anything which might menace the peace and prosperity of her neighbors.³⁸ Blaine sent an-

³⁵ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1878, pp. 16-18, 709, 710.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 711.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1881, p. 598.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 766-67.

other note to that minister on June 21 deprecating the prospect of a war between Guatemala and Mexico and suggesting that the United States had the right to use her good offices to preserve tranquillity among the Hispanic-American nations.³⁹

As Mexico seemed disinclined to accept the good offices of the United States, on November 28, 1881, Blaine instructed Morgan to urge the Mexican Government to reconsider that offer. Blaine distinctly stated that his government would consider "a hostile demonstration" by Mexico against Guatemala as "not in harmony with the friendly relations" existing between Mexico and the United States and injurious to the best interests of all the American republics. He declared that the United States would follow her policy of peace even though she failed to secure the cooperation of Mexico.⁴⁰ After Blaine's resignation the United States Government did not push so vigorously its offer to arbitrate this dispute. Eventually, in August, 1882, the Guatemalan and Mexican ministers at Washington signed a convention containing stipulations which were to serve as a basis for the final settlement of the boundary. An article of this convention provided that, in case of a disagreement between the contracting parties concerning the delimitation of the boundary, the President of the United States should act as arbitrator.⁴¹ In September, 1882, a definitive boundary treaty was signed.⁴² Differences which subsequently arose between Guatemala and Mexico about territory on the river Lacantun were settled by an agreement dated April 1, 1895, which provided that an arbiter should be mutually selected to fix the indemnity due to parties for the occupation or destruction of property by Guatemalans.⁴³ The contracting parties selected the minister of the United States to Mexico as arbiter.⁴⁴

During Blaine's first secretaryship there was also a dispute between Argentina and Chile concerning their Patagonian boundary. Before the inauguration of President Garfield the ministers of the United States to Buenos Aires and Santiago had in vain attempted to promote a peaceful settlement of the con-

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 768-70.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 814-17.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 1882, pp. 332, 437, 438.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 439.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 1895, pt. II, pp. 989, 990.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 991-94.

troversy. Blaine instructed those ministers that they should lose no opportunity to demonstrate the desire of the United States to see the dispute amicably adjusted. On June 13, 1881, Blaine declared that although the United States did not seek the position of arbitrator yet she would not decline that post.⁴⁵ As Chile and Argentina had broken off diplomatic relations, negotiations looking toward peace between those two republics were carried on by telegraph between the United States ministers at Santiago and Buenos Aires, who conferred confidentially with the governments to which they were accredited about the conflicting territorial claims. By June 1, 1881, a basis of settlement was virtually agreed upon, which provided that the boundary line should run from north to south between the highest peaks of the cordilleras that divided the streams flowing east from those flowing west.⁴⁶

A treaty embodying this agreement, and with special provisions about the boundary in the extreme south, was soon signed by the Argentine secretary of foreign relations and the Chilean consul in Buenos Aires. Consequently Argentina and Chile gratefully acknowledged the good offices of the United States government.⁴⁷ The Argentine minister at Washington said that this amicable and satisfactory settlement of the boundary dispute between two neighbors was due "to the unremitting efforts of the representatives of the United States in both countries."⁴⁸ Some years afterwards Argentina and Chile decided to submit to arbitration their dispute concerning the boundary line in the bleak plateau or *puna* of Atacama. To act as umpire upon the mixed commission which should delimit that boundary the two countries selected W. I. Buchanan, minister of the United States to Argentina. In a message to congress on May 1, 1899, referring to the peaceful settlement of the Atacama boundary controversy President Roca of Argentina said:

The participation taken in the solution of the difficulties of which I speak by Mr. Buchanan, the American minister, has been a motive for particular gratification. To that solution he chiefly contributed, and

⁴⁵ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1881, pp. 6, 130, 131.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 163.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 15.

thus rendered both the Republics an eminent service. This is not the first occasion upon which it has fallen to the lot of a minister of the great Confederation of the North to decisively intervene in our boundary disputes in the interest of international peace. Nor will this ever be forgotten by the people whose destinies have been at stake on one or the other side of the mountains.⁴⁹

In 1882 there was a serious dispute between Argentina and Brazil regarding the *misiones* territory. This dispute arose out of the fact that in a region where the Jesuit fathers had planted missions the boundary line between the colonial dominions of Spain and Portugal—sketched by the treaties of 1750 and 1777—had never been definitively surveyed.⁵⁰ Both Argentina and Brazil maintained that between the Iguassú River and the Uruguay River the boundary line should follow the rivers Pepiri-guazú and San Antonio. But the governments of Argentina and Brazil could not agree about the limitary rivers indicated in the colonial treaties: Argentina maintained that two streams lying several leagues eastward of what Brazil claimed were the Pepiri-guazú and San Antonio Rivers really constituted the limitary rivers; while Brazil argued that the streams which were designated by Argentina as limitary rivers were actually the Chapecó and the Chopim.⁵¹ On October 7, 1889, those two governments signed a treaty providing that, if they failed to settle their boundary dispute amicably within a limited period, the question should be submitted to the arbitration of the President of the United States. This treaty stipulated that the boundary should be determined by the rivers designated either by Brazil or by Argentina, as the arbitrator might deem just, in the light of "the reasons and the documents" which the parties might present.⁵² President Pellegrini of Argentina addressed a letter to the President of the United States on April 12, 1892, asking him to act as arbitrator.⁵³ Three days later Acting President Peixoto of Brazil addressed a similar request to the President.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 1899, p. 7.

⁵⁰ See pp. 12-13, *supra*.

⁵¹ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1882, pp. 26-28; *ibid.*, 1887, pp. 48-53.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 1892, p. 2.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18. Moore, *International Arbitrations*, vol. II, p. 1969, reproduces a map showing the disputed territory.

The functions of arbitrator accordingly devolved upon President Cleveland. To him E. S. Zeballos, on behalf of Argentina, and Baron Rio Branco, on behalf of Brazil, submitted documents, maps, and arguments to support the contentions of their respective governments. After careful consideration, on February 5, 1895, President Cleveland announced the award. His decision was that the boundary line between the two republics should follow the westerly of the two river systems, in other words the rivers which Brazil had designated as determining the boundary. The award was based upon the conviction that the rivers which Brazil claimed to constitute the boundary line were identical with the rivers that were located upon the colonial boundary in the latter part of the eighteenth century by commissioners of Spain and Portugal.⁵⁵ In accordance with the treaty of arbitration President Cleveland's award was accepted by both nations as constituting the final decision of a long standing controversy.

At other times the United States was invited to aid in the settlement of boundary disputes between nations of Central America. In 1886 Costa Rica signed a treaty with Nicaragua submitting their dispute over the boundary line to the arbitration of the President of the United States.⁵⁶ About ten years later, in accordance with a treaty of limits, the United States Government was asked to appoint an engineer umpire to settle controverted points concerning the boundary between Costa Rica and Nicaragua.⁵⁷ And, as the republic of Panamá inherited a boundary dispute with Costa Rica which had not been completely settled by the arbitration of the president of the French Republic, in 1910 those two parties signed a convention by which they agreed to submit the interpretation of that award to the arbitral decision of the chief justice of the United States.⁵⁸

The arbitral services of the United States were also invoked to settle an acrimonious dispute between Colombia and Italy which was known as the Cerruti affair. That dispute was due

⁵⁵ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1895, pt. I, pp. 1-3.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 89.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 1897, pp. 330, 331.

⁵⁸ *American Journal of International Law*, Supplement, vol. vi, pp. 1-4.

to the confiscation in 1885 by the Colombian state of Cauca of the personal property of Cerruti, an Italian citizen, and also of the property which he held by virtue of his membership in the Colombian firm of E. Cerruti and Company, upon the charge that he had taken part in a civil war. The government of Italy demanded that Colombia should pay an indemnity for the losses and damages suffered by its subject. After some correspondence, in May, 1886, Italy and Colombia signed a convention by which they agreed to submit the demand for indemnity to the mediation of the king of Spain to whom the respective governments were to present documents and evidence concerning the case.⁵⁹ But the mixed commission which was organized in accordance with that convention was unable to reach a decision within the time agreed upon.⁶⁰ Finally, after many conferences, on August 18, 1894, at Castellamare, the Italian minister for foreign affairs and Colombia's minister to Italy, signed a protocol agreeing to submit the Cerruti claims to arbitration in order to terminate "the subjects of disagreement" between their governments. According to the protocol the President of the United States was to be asked to serve as arbitrator in the dispute and both parties agreed that he should have full power to perform all acts which might be necessary to promote a settlement. That protocol specifically stated that the arbitrator should decide which of the Cerruti claims were subjects for "international adjudication"; and, if any were such, the amount of said claims. This arbitrator was also to decide which of the Cerruti claims were proper subjects for adjudication by Colombian courts. The claims, with documents and evidence, were to be duly submitted to the arbitrator. Both governments bound themselves to abide by his decision which should be final "and not subject either to discussion or appeal."⁶¹

Upon being requested to act as arbitrator by the two governments concerned, President Cleveland agreed to serve.⁶² On March 2, 1897, the President made his award. He decided:

(1) that the Cerruti claims against Colombia were "proper

⁵⁹ Uribe, *Anales diplomáticos y consulares de Colombia*, vol. I, pp. 494, 495.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 529-45, 607.

⁶¹ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1895, vol. II, p. 959.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 960.

claims for international adjudication"; (2) that the claim submitted to him by Signor Cerruti for personal damages should be disallowed; (3) that Cerruti's request for expenses incurred in the prosecution of the claim should be disallowed; (4) that because of damages to his individual property and to his interest in the firm of E. Cerruti and Company Signor Cerruti should be paid by Colombia the sum of sixty thousand pounds; and (5) that the Colombian Government was entitled to all of Cerruti's property rights which had been in question.⁶³ On the following day Señor Renfio, the Colombian minister at Washington, lodged a protest against the fifth paragraph of the award asserting that it dealt with matters which were not submitted to the arbitration of the President, a protest which was endorsed by his government.⁶⁴ Subsequently the Italian minister at Washington asked the President to interpret the fourth paragraph of the award. To those representations John Sherman, secretary of state for President McKinley, replied that the President would not reinvest himself with the function of arbitrator, especially after a change in the presidential office; and that he could only be asked to assume arbitral powers by the joint action of both parties to the arbitration: in other words President McKinley held that he could "not revive the personal character of arbitrator which his predecessor discharged by the rendition of his award."⁶⁵

It has been shown that in some important international disputes, as the war between Spain and her former colonies upon the Pacific coast of South America, the United States essayed to play the part of a mediator. Successful in her rôle upon that occasion and in her policy of joint mediation in Central America, she failed in her attempts to mediate in controversies and wars in which the national government of Argentina was involved. She signally failed in her policy of intervention in the war between the Spanish republics upon the Pacific. But through her ministers and her Presidents she played a dignified rôle as

⁶³ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1898, pp. 245, 246.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 247. For the view of the Colombian government, see especially Uribe, vol. iv, pp. 749-55.

⁶⁵ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1898, pp. 271, 272.

arbitrator in several rancorous boundary disputes between Hispanic-American states. In Article XXI of the treaty which closed the Mexican War the United States had indeed placed herself upon record as in favor of the settlement by diplomacy or arbitration of any disputes which might arise with Mexico.⁶⁶ Yet the credit for success in the use of arbitral procedure in America does not by any means belong to the United States alone. To a large extent that success was made possible by the increasingly favorable attitude which the Hispanic-American republics displayed toward arbitration as a mode of settling their controversies:—as early as 1822 Great Colombia had signed treaties with Chile and Peru which embodied the arbitral principle.⁶⁷

We shall now turn to disputes of a somewhat different character—disputes to which the United States was herself a party. The number and complexity of these disputes renders it impossible to treat them all chronologically in this study. Controversies of some importance between the United States and Hispanic-American states have arisen either from injuries to the persons or the property of American citizens, or from issues concerning the sovereign rights of Hispanic-American nations.

Numerous disputes have arisen between the United States and Hispanic-American countries because of injuries to citizens of the United States in those countries. Brief mention of the most important controversies will indicate their diverse character. In 1845 a controversy arose between the United States and Brazil out of a brawl which took place among United States sailors in a park at Rio de Janeiro. This brawl resulted in the arrest by Brazilian police of Lieutenant Davis of the United States corvette *Saratoga*. A most serious dispute arose between the United States and Chile in 1891 because of an affray between some Chileans of the lower class and certain sailors of the United States vessel *Baltimore* who were on shore at Valparaiso. In that brawl one officer of this vessel was killed and

⁶⁶ Malloy, *Treaties*, vol. I, p. 1117.

⁶⁷ Cadena, *Anales diplomáticos y consulares de Colombia*, pp. 304, 316.

several seamen were seriously wounded. As that attack had apparently been provoked by the appearance of the United States uniform, it was considered by that country as an insult to her flag. With New Granada the United States had a similar dispute which originated in 1856 on the Isthmus of Panamá from a squabble over a watermelon between a citizen of the United States called Jack Oliver and a negro vendor of fruit. The struggle between Oliver's compatriots and the Panamaians became a fierce riot in which stones, clubs, and firearms were used. This riot was followed by robberies and murders, which the local authorities could not control. Consequently the United States Government supported the claims of its citizens for indemnities because of deaths, injuries, and losses suffered in the riot. Against the Ecuadorian Government the United States prosecuted a claim because of the arrest of her citizen Julio R. Santos upon the charge of complicity in a revolution. Between the United States and Paraguay a very complicated and troublesome controversy arose mainly out of the colonizing and mercantile activities of E. A. Hopkins, a venturesome citizen of the United States who was ejected from Paraguay.

Many disputes have arisen between the United States and Hispanic-American countries primarily because of damages to the property of United States citizens. During a war between Brazil and the government at Buenos Aires which sprang from their conflicting claims to Uruguay, Brazil declared that the mouth of la Plata River was blockaded, and, in spite of the protests of the United States, the Brazilian squadron made arbitrary seizures of vessels belonging to citizens of the United States. The most important controversy between the United States and Chile concerning property was the Alsop claim. In 1875 Alsop and Company of Valparaiso, which was composed of United States citizens, entered into a contract with Bolivia for the settlement of a debt that had been assigned to them by a Brazilian citizen. Bolivia provided for the liquidation of that debt by granting to this firm certain of her customs duties

collected in the Peruvian port of Arica; and by conceding to it the right to exploit her silver mines near the Pacific coast. As a result of the War of the Pacific, however, the hopes which Alsop and Company entertained of realizing their claim by virtue of Bolivia's grants disappeared. Subsequently the United States government took the view that, by virtue of the Bolivian-Chilean treaty of October 20, 1904, Chile had agreed to shoulder Bolivia's obligations. From time to time various miscellaneous claims have been urged by the United States, on behalf of her citizens, against the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Mexico, and Salvador; sometimes those claims have been partly offset by claims urged by Hispanic-American governments on behalf of their citizens. The United States carried on negotiations with Peru regarding the *Georgiana* and the *Lizzie Thompson*, vessels belonging to her citizens that had been seized and confiscated by the legitimate government of Peru because they were engaged in the guano trade under a contract with a revolutionary government. On several occasions the United States has urged upon Venezuela the payment of claims for damages caused to the properties of her citizens which were frequently due to dissensions and revolutions. The largest claims presented by the United States against Venezuela were those made during the allied blockade of that country.

Sooner or later those controversies were settled amicably. Sometimes financial disputes have been settled under a mutual claims treaty between the United States and a certain country of Hispanic America.⁶⁸ The difference with Brazil arising out of a sailors' brawl came to an end after the United States expressed her regret concerning certain actions of her minister to Rio de Janeiro.⁶⁹ In the dispute with Brazil concerning the seizure of United States vessels by her squadron that nation agreed by a legislative act to pay a sum of money in settlement of the dispute.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Malloy, vol. I, pp. 185-89; *ibid.*, pp. 1128-31; *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 1386-87, 1445.

⁶⁹ *Relatorio do ministro dos estrangeiros*, 1847, pp. 10-12; *ibid.*, 1850, p. 17.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 1851, p. ix; Malloy, vol. I, pp. 144, 145.

After threatening a serious rupture between the United States and Chile, the *Baltimore* affair was at last adjusted by the offer of the Chilean Government to pay seventy-five thousand dollars for distribution as indemnity among the families of the *Baltimore's* sailors.⁷¹ The controversy concerning the activities of Hopkins in Paraguay was by treaty submitted to two commissioners who decided against the claim. Upon making that award the United States commissioner expressed the hope that the day was far distant when the United States would sanction the acquisition of fortunes "by the plunder of feeble states extorted from them at the cannon's mouth."⁷² The "affair of the melon" between the United States and New Granada was settled by conventions providing for the choice of a commissioner by each party who were to choose an arbitrator or umpire.⁷³ Mixed commissions, or similar modes of settlement, have also been used to adjust controversies between the United States and the following nations: Chile, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru, Salvador, and Venezuela. In this connection the opinion of the United States commissioner in rendering a decision against a claimant for damages from Ecuador is worth quoting: "While ever ready and vigilant to protect the rights and interests of American citizens wheresoever or against whomsoever it may be, the United States will not oppress their sister republics with extravagant demands or unjust exactions."⁷⁴

Some disputes between the United States and Hispanic-American states have been adjusted by arbitral processes. By a convention between the United States and Ecuador the Santos claim was submitted to the arbitration of the English consul at Callao.⁷⁵ According to a protocol between the United States and Chile the Alsop claim was adjusted by the arbitration of the king of England.⁷⁶ The claim for indemnity urged

⁷¹ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1892, pp. 62, 63.

⁷² Moore, *International Arbitrations*, vol. II, p. 1528.

⁷³ Malloy, vol. I, pp. 319-21; Moore, *International Arbitrations*, vol. II, pp. 1394, 1415.

⁷⁴ Moore, *International Arbitrations*, vol. III, p. 2740.

⁷⁵ Malloy, vol. I, pp. 438-41; Moore, *International Arbitrations*, vol. II, pp. 1590-92.

⁷⁶ *American Journal of International Law*, vol. v, pp. 1079-1107.

by the United States Government against Brazil for the loss of the whaling vessel *Canada* was submitted to the arbitration of the English minister at Washington.⁷⁷ A claim against Chile for the loss of silver taken by Chilean naval officers from United States citizens was arbitrated by the king of Belgium.⁷⁸ Various claims urged by the United States against the Dominican Republic have been settled by arbitral processes.⁷⁹ In 1900 the United States and Guatemala submitted the claims of a United States citizen for damages caused by the revocation of railroad rights to the arbitration of the English minister to Guatemala.⁸⁰ Certain disputes between the United States and other Central American states have likewise been settled by arbitration. The negotiations between Peru and the United States regarding the *Georgiana* and the *Lizzie Thompson* were settled in an admirable spirit. For when the United States learned of a chance remark of the king of Belgium, who had declined to serve as arbitrator after some study of the dispute, that, in his judgment, the United States was in the wrong, the cases were quietly allowed to drop.⁸¹ A grievous dispute between Mexico and the United States regarding the so-called "Pious Fund of the Californias"—a fund composed of charitable contributions which during Spanish rule supported the Jesuit missions in Upper California—was ended in 1904 by the Hague Tribunal which decided that Mexico should make an annual payment to the United States on account of future interest due from that fund to the Catholic Church of California.⁸²

The following table presents a summary view of certain arbitrations and diplomatic adjustments that have taken place between the United States and nations of Hispanic America:

⁷⁷ Moore, *International Arbitrations*, vol. II, pp. 1733-47.

⁷⁸ Malloy, vol. I, pp. 183-85; Moore, *International Arbitrations*, vol. II, pp. 1463-68.

⁷⁹ Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. VI, pp. 523, 524, 729; *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1898, pp. 274-89; *ibid.*, 1904, pp. 270-76; Darby, *International Arbitration: International Tribunals*, p. 904; Malloy, vol. I, pp. 432-34.

⁸⁰ Malloy, vol. I, pp. 871-75.

⁸¹ Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. V, p. 840; Moore, *International Arbitrations*, vol. II, p. 1612.

⁸² *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1902, appendix II, pp. 11, 12.

APPROXIMATE SUMMARY OF ARBITRATIONS AND DIPLOMATIC SETTLEMENTS BETWEEN
 THE UNITED STATES AND HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS WHICH
 INVOLVED FINANCIAL PAYMENTS ⁸³

Countries	Awards or settlements			Total awards	
	In favor of United States	Against United States	Favoring all parties	In favor of United States	Against United States
Brazil.....	3	.....	.....	\$725,460.04	.....
Chile.....	3	.....	1	1,245,922.58	\$3,000.00
Colombia.....	3	.....	.....	618,003.66	.....
Costa Rica.....	1	.....	.....	25,704.14	.....
Dominican Republic ..	3	.....	.....	4,770,661.17	.....
Ecuador.....	2	.....	.....	134,799.56	.....
Guatemala.....	1	.....	.....	143,750.73	.....
Mexico.....	1	1	3	4,835,663.53	3,358,813.37
Nicaragua.....	1	.....	.....	8,365.94	.....
Paraguay.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Peru.....	2	1	2	723,047.26	82,361.29
Salvador.....	2	.....	.....	541,676.14	.....
Venezuela.....	7	1	1	4,678,683.97	300.00
Total.....	29	4	7	\$18,451,738.72	\$3,444,474.66

The foregoing table does not include one of the settlements mentioned in the text, the indemnity paid to the United States by Chile for the injuries to sailors of the *Baltimore*. It does not include the annual interest due from Mexico on account of the Pious Fund. Over three million dollars of the amount entered in this table as recovered by Mexico from the United States represents the indemnity demanded by citizens of the United States who had claims against Mexico, an indemnity which the United States Government undertook to pay in consideration of territorial cessions by Mexico in the Treaty of Guadeloupe Hidalgo. As this table demonstrates, a surprisingly large number of disputes between the United States and the nations of Hispanic America have been settled by arbitrations or by diplomatic adjustments. These cases furnish some conspicuous

⁸³ Adapted and modified from *Arbitrations and Diplomatic Settlements of the United States*, p. 20.

illustrations of the growing practice of submitting international disputes about financial claims to arbitration for settlement. In striking contrast with the policy adopted by certain European nations, the United States has not adopted a policy of coercion in order to collect the claims of her citizens against the nations of Hispanic America. From another viewpoint the record is creditable to the Hispanic-American nations which have, in less than a century, paid to the United States over eighteen million dollars on account of the claims of her citizens. The frequent diplomatic controversies which have been provoked by vexatious claims urged against American nations seem to indicate the necessity for the adoption of a definite procedure and the establishment of an impartial American tribunal for the settlement of international claims.

Not the least significant sign of the belief of certain Hispanic-American nations in peaceful methods of adjusting international disputes has been their adherence to the peace policy of President Wilson. Early in 1913, "President Wilson's Peace Proposal" was given by Secretary Bryan to members of the diplomatic corps at Washington. This paper proposed that every dispute concerning questions of an international character, which could not be settled by diplomacy should be submitted to an international commission. While that commission was investigating a dispute neither of the parties to the controversy should declare war or begin hostilities against the other. In a memorandum which accompanied the project, Secretary Bryan made suggestions concerning the personnel and functions of the international investigatory commission. He suggested that, pending the investigation, there should be no change in the military program of either party to the dispute.⁸⁴ As has been aptly said, the "underlying thought of the plan is threefold: (1) That it furnishes an honorable means of suspending controversy; (2) that the suspension of controversy will tranquilize the minds of the disputants; and (3) that the report of the commission of investigation probably will point the way

⁸⁴ *World Peace Foundation*, pamphlet series, vol. vi, no. 5, *The Conciliation Plan of the League to Enforce Peace*, pp. 23, 24.

to a fair and equitable adjustment."⁸⁵ When Wilson's peace plan was embodied in a treaty by the United States, including a proviso concerning military programs, it was accepted by all of the Central American powers, except Costa Rica, the first peace treaty being signed with Salvador on August 7, 1913.⁸⁶ Arbitration treaties without that proviso have also been signed by the United States with Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay.⁸⁷

Controversies between the United States and Hispanic-American states concerning the sovereign rights of Hispanic-American nations have occasionally arisen in connection with problems about territory. The United States has become involved in negotiations about territorial rights with Mexico, Peru, Argentina, and Colombia.

Boundary disputes which have arisen since the Treaty of Guadeloupe Hidalgo was signed have been the subject of diplomatic correspondence and adjustment between the United States and Mexico. By the Gadsden Treaty in 1853 Mexico, in return for a monetary consideration, ceded to the United States her claim to a strip of territory the ownership of which was disputed.⁸⁸ Those governments agreed to a treaty in 1884 stipulating that the riparian line between the two nations provided by previous treaties should be "the center of the normal channel" of the Colorado and Río Grande rivers, even though by erosion and deposit of alluvium that channel was not identical with an earlier channel.⁸⁹ Five years later they agreed to submit differences in regard to the riparian boundary to an international boundary commission to be composed of one commissioner appointed by each country.⁹⁰ In 1894 the Mexican secretary of foreign relations submitted to that commission a case relating to the claim of a Mexican citizen, Pedro Y. García, who claimed title to land in the Chamizal tract, a tract which had been transferred from the Mexican bank of the Río Grande to the United States bank either by the formation of a new

⁸⁵ Moore, *The Principles of American Diplomacy*, p. 336.

⁸⁶ *American Journal of International Law*, vol. VII, pp. 824-26.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Supplement, vol. x, pp. 263-68, 271-72, 275-78, 284-88, 293-97, 307-9; *ibid.*, Supplement, vol. xi, pp. 1-3.

⁸⁸ Malloy, vol. I, pp. 1121-25. ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1159-61. ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 1167-69.

channel or by gradual erosion.⁹¹ Subsequently citizens of Mexico and of the United States claimed lands in this tract under titles emanating from their respective governments. A *modus vivendi* was later negotiated between the two governments by which they agreed that the United States should continue to request a stay of proceedings in her courts for persons claiming lands in the Chamizal tract under Mexican titles who asserted that they or their predecessors had been in actual possession of land in the disputed tract on March 15, 1910. An officer was to be appointed by the United States Department of State to pass upon the existence of such titles and to report to that department cases in which claimants ought not to be ejected.⁹²

In the diplomatic relations of the United States with Peru the only serious discussion that has ever arisen was connected with Peru's title to the Lobos Islands, which are situated in the Pacific Ocean about twenty-five miles from the Peruvian coast. That question was precipitated in 1852 because certain citizens of the United States became interested in the guano deposits in those islands. The views of the United States were clearly stated in a note of Secretary Webster to Joaquín J. de Osma, Peru's minister at Washington, on August 21, 1852. The secretary asserted that citizens of the United States had fished around the Lobos Islands for fifty years. As those islands were in the open sea he asked whether Peru had exercised "such unequivocal acts of absolute sovereignty and ownership over them as to give her a right to their exclusive possession." Webster declared that the United States was disposed to consider all the facts which supported Peru's title to those islands: President Fillmore had considered it prudent to give instructions to United States naval forces to avoid collision with Peruvian authorities until the controversy was settled.⁹³

On October 23, 1852, José M. Tirado, the Peruvian secretary of foreign relations, sent a long note to J. R. Clay, United States chargé at Lima, summarizing Peru's claim to the Lobos Islands.

⁹¹ *American Journal of International Law*, vol. iv, p. 928.

⁹² *Ibid.*, Supplement, vol. v, pp. 117-21.

⁹³ *Message from the President of the United States communicating the correspondence concerning the Lobos Islands*, pt. I, pp. 7-12; in part in Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. I, pp. 265, 266.

Tirado's historical survey conclusively demonstrated Peru's good title which that secretary offered to fortify by other proofs of jurisdictional acts over those islands.⁹⁴ Two days later Chargé Clay made a report to his government in favor of the Peruvian claim.⁹⁵ Hence, on November 16, 1852, Secretary of State Edward Everett in a high-minded fashion sent a note to Minister Osma declaring that his government did not have the slightest reason to doubt Peru's sovereignty over the Lobos Islands and other guano islands of the Pacific.⁹⁶ At once Osma expressed his pleasure at finding the President and the secretary of state disposed to adjust the dispute "in a manner honorable and worthy of the relations which bound Peru to the United States."⁹⁷

During the fourth decade of the nineteenth century there arose a dispute concerning the Falkland Islands between the United States and Argentina. Those islands lie just off the coast of Patagonia. Included within the dominions of Spain in America by virtue of papal bulls, the objects of colonization by France, claimed for a time by Great Britain because of their alleged discovery by Englishmen, on the eve of the Revolution which separated the Spanish Indies from the motherland, the Falkland Islands were considered by Spain to form a part of the extensive viceroyalty of la Plata. It was natural that the officials who directed the new state seated at Buenos Aires, should, as the heirs of Spanish officials, eventually have claimed jurisdiction over those islands. On June 10, 1829, Argentina published a decree announcing that she had exercised jurisdiction over the Falkland Islands, and stating that they should thenceforth be under the rule of a military and political commander who was to enforce the laws and regulations of the republic.⁹⁸ As commander of the islands the Argentine Republic appointed Luis Vernet who proceeded to exercise governmental authority over them.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ *Memorial of Alfred G. Benson*, pp. 113-30.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 106-12.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 169, 170.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁹⁸ *Registro oficial de la república argentina*, vol. II, p. 238.

⁹⁹ Quesada, *Recuerdos de mi vida diplomática: misión en Estados Unidos*, p. 273.

In August, 1831, three fishing vessels from the United States, the *Breakwater*, the *Harriet*, and the *Superior*, appeared on the coast of the Falkland Islands to catch seals. When Governor Vernet undertook to detain them for violation of the fishing laws, the *Breakwater* escaped, while the *Harriet* and the *Superior* were seized. The *Superior* was eventually allowed to proceed to the coast of Chile, as her captain pledged himself to return and abide by the judgment rendered in the case of the *Harriet*, which was taken to Buenos Aires.¹⁰⁰

That seizure initiated a protracted diplomatic correspondence concerning the Falkland Islands between Argentina and the United States. On November 21, 1831, G. W. Slocum, consul of the United States at Buenos Aires, addressed a note to T. M. de Anchorena, the Argentine secretary of foreign relations, affirming that the *Harriet* had been engaged in legal traffic and asking if the Argentine Government intended to sustain the capture.¹⁰¹ Anchorena responded on December 3, declaring that United States vessels had no right to fish near the Falkland Islands which were the property of his government.¹⁰² In the meantime the government of the United States had dispatched the corvette *Lexington* under Captain Duncan to southern South America. After warning Anchorena, through Slocum, of his intention to protect United States citizens, Duncan left Buenos Aires for the Falkland Islands.¹⁰³ Upon his arrival there he released his imprisoned fellow-citizens and dispersed the Argentine colonists. On February 14, 1832, the Argentine Government published a proclamation protesting against this action and expressing the opinion that the Government of the United States could not approve such acts of aggression.¹⁰⁴ But after Francis Baylies, chargé d'affaires of the United States to Argentina, arrived at Buenos Aires, he characterized the proceedings of Governor Vernet as arbitrary and denied the

¹⁰⁰ Quesada, *Recuerdos de mi vida diplomática*, pp. 278-80.

¹⁰¹ *Colección de documentos oficiales . . . sobre las Islas Malvinas* (unpaged), document no. I.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, document no. IV.

¹⁰³ *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. xx, pp. 317-19.

¹⁰⁴ *Colección de documentos oficiales . . . sobre las Islas Malvinas*, document no. XIV; *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. xx, pp. 327, 328.

right of the Argentine Government to prohibit United States citizens from fishing near the Falkland Islands.¹⁰⁵ Early in 1833 Captain Onslow of the British warship *Clio* forcibly took possession of the Falkland Islands in the name of his Britannic Majesty and replaced the Argentine flag at the port of Soledad by the British flag.¹⁰⁶ Against this action, and especially against the seizure of the eastern island, Soledad, the Argentine Government protested in 1841 through Manuel Moreno, its minister in London; but Lord Palmerston advocated England's prior claim to the islands against Spain, basing that claim upon discovery and anterior occupation and maintaining that the retirement of British forces in 1774 did not invalidate those rights.¹⁰⁷

As a result of those proceedings the Argentine Government adopted a policy of protest toward the Government of the United States. In 1839 on behalf of his government, Minister Alvear presented a claim to Secretary Webster for the damages suffered because of Duncan's acts in the Falkland Islands.¹⁰⁸ But no adjustment was made; for, in December, 1841, Secretary Webster declared that, as the right of Argentina to those islands was contested by Great Britain because of claims "long antecedent" to Duncan's acts, he thought that the United States should not give "a final answer" to Alvear's note until the Anglo Argentine controversy was settled.¹⁰⁹ There the matter remained until 1884, when the secretary of foreign relations of Argentina instructed L. L. Domínguez, her minister at Washington, to urge the claim which had been presented by Alvear because of the acts of Duncan in "assaulting and destroying violently the Argentine colony established at the port of Soledad." Domínguez was instructed that he should not discuss with the United States the question of the legitimate sovereignty to the Falkland Islands; for in 1831 they were in the undisputed possession of Argentina. As the basis of a claim for

¹⁰⁵ *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. xx, pp. 330-36.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 1194-97.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. xxii, pp. 1366-94; *Memoria del ministro de relaciones exteriores de la Argentina*, 1888, pp. 38-76.

¹⁰⁸ *Memoria del ministro de relaciones exteriores de la Argentina*, 1885, p. 136.

¹⁰⁹ Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. I, p. 888.

damages Domínguez was told that Vernet's colony was valued at over two hundred thousand *pesos*; and he was instructed that, if a direct settlement could not be made, Argentina was willing to submit the matter to arbitration.¹¹⁰ In September, 1884, Minister Domínguez accordingly renewed negotiations concerning the islands and presented to Secretary of State Frelinghuysen a claim for two hundred thousand *pesos* in silver.¹¹¹ Before a definite response was given, however, Frelinghuysen was succeeded by Bayard.

In President Cleveland's message to Congress, December 8, 1885, he alluded to the action of the *Lexington* in destroying "a piratical colony" in the Falkland Islands. The President declared that, in view of "the ample justification for the act of the *Lexington* and the derelict condition of the islands, before and after their alleged occupation by Argentine colonists," the United States considered the claim of Argentina as "wholly groundless."¹¹² Not aware that his conduct might be considered improper, upon the following day Vicente G. Quesada, the new Argentine minister, addressed a note to Secretary Bayard in which he undertook to correct the President's statements and also to elaborate an argument to the effect that the action of Baylies in supporting the seizure of the Falkland Islands by England was "in flagrant opposition to the declarations of Monroe."¹¹³

On March 18, 1886, Secretary Bayard replied, declaring that as the Monroe Doctrine was not retroactive, it had no application to the case; for England based her claim to the Falkland Islands upon rights antedating 1823. Bayard said that, "with the tacit consent" of the Argentine Government, the United States had delayed "a final answer" to its demands, because a decision upon the question of the liability of the United States to the Argentine Republic would be interpreted as "an expression of opinion" upon the rightful sovereignty over the Falkland Islands, a dictum which the United States wished to avoid.

¹¹⁰ *Memoria del ministro de relaciones exteriores de la Argentina*, 1885, pp. 127, 128.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 137-41.

¹¹² Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, vol. VIII, p. 325.

¹¹³ Quesada, *Recuerdos de mi vida diplomática*, pp. 207-13.

Further, the secretary affirmed that there was not the slightest relation between Duncan's acts and the re-occupation of the islands by Great Britain which was made at a time when Argentina actually had a small garrison at Soledad. In sum, he argued that it had not been demonstrated that the United States was responsible for the events which had occurred in the Falkland Islands from 1831 to 1833. He declined to accept Domínguez's proposal to submit the matter to arbitration.¹¹⁴

In the meantime Minister Quesada had been laboring upon a memorandum about the disputed islands. After securing the approval of the Argentine secretary of foreign relations, on May 4, 1887, Quesada sent to Bayard a lengthy and documented note which embodied the results of his labors. In his note that minister presented a strong case in favor of undisputed Spanish jurisdiction over the eastern Falkland Islands, including Soledad, after the French evacuation in 1764. He declared that the revolutionary government of Buenos Aires took possession of Soledad in 1820, transmitting documents to prove Argentina's jurisdiction before 1830 and excerpts from the judicial proceedings against the *Harriet*. In his brief Quesada argued that the forcible occupation by England of Soledad in the Falkland Islands was in violation of the Doctrine of Monroe; for by that occupation England took possession of this island for the first time.¹¹⁵ "The honor and the justice of the people and the government of the United States as well as the aspiration which they cherish of furnishing an example of impartiality and of prudence in the international relations of the republics of the continent encourage the presumption that, when the facts of this claim are made known, its right proved, and its bases justified, the government of the United States will accept the proposed arbitration in order to close a debate, the settlement of which was long ago postponed."¹¹⁶

To this memorandum the Government of the United States made no reply. The question of indemnity due to the Argentine

¹¹⁴ Quesada, *Recuerdos de mi vida diplomática*, pp. 214-21; in part in Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. I, pp. 889, 890.

¹¹⁵ Quesada, *Recuerdos de mi vida diplomática*, p. 245.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

Government for alleged injuries caused by Captain Duncan to Vernet's colony on the island of Soledad is still unsettled. Upon more than one occasion it has employed the pens of Argentine scholars, because they are keenly aware of the strategic value of the Falkland Islands, because they maintain that the Monroe Doctrine is involved, and because they believe in the practical application of the principle of arbitration to international controversies.

The policy which the United States should adopt toward a transisthmian transit has occupied that government upon many occasions. The first diplomatic step of importance was taken on December 12, 1846, when B. A. Bidlack, chargé d'affaires of the United States in Bogotá, and M. M. Mallarino, secretary of foreign relations for New Granada, signed a commercial treaty which renewed certain stipulations of the Colombian treaty of 1824. In addition, by Article XXXV, New Granada guaranteed to the United States and her citizens "the right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Panamá upon any modes of communication that now exist, or that may hereafter be constructed": —in return the United States guaranteed, "positively and efficaciously, to New Granada . . . the perfect neutrality of the before mentioned Isthmus," and her "rights of sovereignty and property" over it.¹¹⁷ That significant article was inserted in this treaty at the instance of Secretary Mallarino who wished to secure a guarantee of protection against territorial acquisitions by certain European nations upon the Isthmus of Panamá, —that portion of territory located between the American continents which, in Mallarino's words, "universal, commercial interest" required "should be free and open to all nations."¹¹⁸ Although President Polk had not authorized the negotiation of this treaty, yet he approved it, and the Senate ratified it.

The expansion of the United States to the Golden Horn as a result of the Mexican War had an influence upon the Isthmian problem. Hardly had the treaty of Guadeloupe Hidalgo been

¹¹⁷ Malloy, vol. 1, p. 312.

¹¹⁸ Rivas, *Relaciones internacionales entre Colombia y los Estados Unidos*, pp. 151-55.

signed when an English fleet took possession of San Juan in Central America, and, in spite of the resistance of Nicaragua, which claimed sovereignty over the town, established authority there in the name of the chief of the Mosquito Indians, who was under English protection.¹¹⁹ That action seemed to augur English domination of an interoceanic transit. As a counterblast, in 1849 Mr. Hise, chargé d' affaires of the United States to Nicaragua, negotiated a treaty which embodied the idea of the dominant interest of the United States in a Nicaragua Canal and almost established a protectorate over Nicaragua¹²⁰—a treaty, however, which was not ratified. A subsequent treaty, which likewise was never ratified, providing for a joint protectorate of the United States and Nicaragua over a Nicaragua Canal, derived its chief interest from the fact that it probably facilitated the negotiations between the United States and Great Britain which in 1850 culminated in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.¹²¹

The preamble of that famous treaty declared that the purpose of the contracting parties was to enunciate their views in regard to any means of communication which might be constructed between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by way of Lakes Managua and Nicaragua. Neither power was ever to obtain or maintain any exclusive control over the proposed canal. Upon the completion of the Nicaragua Canal, both nations were to guarantee its neutralization and to protect that transit against "interruption, seizure, or unjust confiscation." Lastly, the two governments agreed to extend their protection by treaty to any other practicable Isthmian transit.¹²² In fine, the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty embodied the idea of a joint protectorate of transisthmian communications by England and the United States. This treaty was for many years a serious obstacle to the construction of a canal under the sole auspices of the United States Government, although its last stipulation was ignored by

¹¹⁹ Travis, *History of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty*, Michigan Political Science Association Publications, vol. III, no. 8, pp. 43-50, 60.

¹²⁰ *Tigre Island and Central America*, pp. 110-17.

¹²¹ Travis, pp. 66, 67.

¹²² Malloy, vol. I, pp. 659-63. The negotiation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty is given detailed consideration in Williams, *Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy*, pp. 67-109.

that government in treaties subsequently negotiated with Honduras and Nicaragua,¹²³ and although the United States was asked to maintain order on the Isthmus of Panamá in accordance with the Treaty of 1846.

During the administration of President Hayes the problem of an Isthmian transit was brought forcibly to the attention of the United States through the activities of a company under French auspices that began operations on a Panamá Canal. Ferdinand de Lesseps, builder of the Suez Canal, had obtained the exclusive right—secured by Col. Wyse from the republic of Colombia in 1878—to construct a canal across the Isthmus of Panamá. Subscriptions to the capital stock of the company were made by many Frenchmen, grants of land were conceded by Colombia, and in 1881 the gigantic task of digging the canal was begun. By 1889, however, the company was bankrupt, only a small fraction of the excavating had been done, and valuable machinery was rusting on the Isthmus.¹²⁴

The war between the United States and Spain caused a revival of interest among the people of the United States concerning an interoceanic canal. In December, 1901, the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty was negotiated which superseded the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. This treaty provided that a canal might be constructed under the auspices of the United States Government which was conceded the right to regulate and manage it.¹²⁵ In the following year the so-called Spooner bill became a law which authorized the President to secure the rights of the Panamá Canal Company and to acquire from Colombia the control of a strip of land on the Isthmus for the construction of a canal in a reasonable time, or if this could not be done on satisfactory terms, to secure a corresponding grant in Nicaragua.¹²⁶

Negotiations then followed between Secretary Hay and Colombia's diplomatic representatives at Washington in regard to a canal zone. The project of a treaty proposed by Colombia in April, 1902, showed clearly that it was her desire to secure the

¹²³ Malloy, vol. I, pp. 957-58, 1284-86.

¹²⁴ Williams, pp. 274-99, discusses in detail the opposition in the United States to the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty from 1860 to 1895.

¹²⁵ Malloy, vol. I, pp. 782-84.

¹²⁶ *Statutes at Large of the United States*, vol. xxxii, pt. I, pp. 481-84.

reenforcement of Article XXXV of the Treaty of 1846, while authorizing the Panamá Canal Company to transfer its rights to the United States and conceding to that government the right to dig and protect a canal in Colombian territory.¹²⁷ But this project did not suit Secretary Hay, who submitted a counter project. The greatest difficulty was to determine the exact amount of remuneration to be granted Colombia in return for the concession. On December 26, 1902, the Colombian Government ordered its minister in the United States to ask ten million dollars and an annuity of six hundred thousand dollars.¹²⁸ In a note which he declared was final Secretary Hay reduced the annuity to one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. To this the Colombian minister would not agree.¹²⁹ But on January 10, 1903, Colombia sent a cablegram to Tomás Herrán, her representative in Washington, instructing him to obtain a larger cash payment and to reduce the period after which the annuity should be paid. "If this is not possible"—so ran the telegram—"and you see that all may be lost by delay, sign the treaty."¹³⁰ At last, convinced that he could obtain no better terms, on January 22, 1903, Minister Herrán signed the treaty. According to the Hay-Herrán treaty the United States agreed to pay Colombia ten million dollars cash, and, after ten years, an annuity of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the lease of a strip of land five miles wide across the Isthmus of Panamá.¹³¹

That treaty, however, was signed at an unfortunate juncture for Colombia. The passions which had been stirred by a fierce civil war—during which the president had been replaced by Vice President Marroquín—had hardly subsided, and factional spirit evidently played some part in determining the attitude of Colombia's statesmen toward the important treaty.

When the Hay-Herrán Treaty became known in Colombia it was subjected to considerable criticism. In an article in *El relator* of Bogotá in June, 1903, Señor Diego Mendoza declared

¹²⁷ *Libro azul: documentos diplomáticos sobre el canal y la rebelión del istmo de Panamá*, pp. 163–75.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 329.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 329, 330.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 341–56.

that the Panamá Canal was "the providential road of the Monroe Doctrine. God has placed in this road a feeble barrier: the rights of a small nation, which can be destroyed by a single cannon shot. In defense of her rights, Colombia, as mistress of the only route by which a canal can be opened, ought not to oppose the development of civilization; but neither should she sacrifice herself. The projected Hay-Herrán Treaty, in veiled words, provides for the unconditional transfer of the entire Isthmus of Panamá."¹³²

In a message on June 20 to a congress which he had convened in extraordinary session, Vice President Marroquín said that any sacrifice would be justified which would improve Colombia's relations with the United States, implying that he favored the canal treaty; but he declared that the responsibility for the approval or disapproval of the treaty was left with congress.¹³³ On July 2 the Hay-Herrán Treaty was formally submitted to the Colombian senate for consideration. At once a motion was introduced that this house should not consider the project until it had been countersigned by the acting president. After a debate upon a question of constitutional procedure which displayed a desire upon the part of certain senators to saddle the entire responsibility for the project upon the executive—a debate in which the government took the view that it had duly assumed responsibility by negotiating the treaty—the senate decided that the signature of the chief executive was not a necessary and constitutional preliminary to the consideration of a treaty.¹³⁴ The project was then referred to a special committee composed of one member from each of the nine departments of the republic.

On August 1 a majority of this committee made a lengthy, formal report recommending that the treaty should be approved with nine modifications. Two members of this committee made dissenting reports. Joaquín M. Uribe B. declared that the proposed treaty was illegal and unconstitutional and that it violated the sovereignty, jurisdiction, and territorial integrity

¹³² *El relator*, Bogotá, June 25, 1903.

¹³³ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1903, p. 154.

¹³⁴ *República de Colombia, anales del senado*, series I, nos. 2, 3, 4, pp. 15, 16, 22, 23.

of the republic; while Juan B. Pérez y Soto declared that the treaty was inconvenient because it violated Colombia's constitution, decrees, and laws.¹³⁵ The debate which followed dealt largely with technical, and even personal, problems. A spirited opposition to the treaty was led by ex-President M. J. Caro. This opposition was probably not lessened by the undiplomatic step of the United States minister at Bogotá who informed Luis C. Rico, the Colombian secretary of foreign relations, that, if Colombia wished to be on friendly terms with the United States and to secure the advantages that would result from the construction of a Panamá Canal, she should ratify the Hay-Herrán Treaty "without any modifications whatever."¹³⁶ To the Colombian senate on August 12, Secretary Rico made a résumé of the debate. In conclusion he declared that his government had agreed to the treaty in order that congress, as the organ of the popular will, might decide upon its approval or rejection:

His Excellency the Vice President of the Republic has charged me to give the foregoing explanations to the honorable senate. These explanations have made evident that the initiation of the treaty was in obedience to a grand thought; that the negotiations were conducted with ability and prudence; and that, if the conditions of the pact do not correspond to the desires of the Colombian people, this is because the other high contracting party did not yield to the proposal to improve them. In a word: that the government of Colombia has proceeded in this transcendental affair with the loftiest aims and inspired by the most refined patriotism.¹³⁷

When a vote was taken upon the treaty, every senator present disapproved of it. In commenting upon that action on August 14 *El nuevo tiempo*, the *Times* of Bogotá, expressed approval of the recommendation made by the majority of the special committee:

The fact that the United States had made known that she would not accept any modifications of the Hay-Herrán Treaty, did not mean that the Colombian Government should not make them: on the con-

¹³⁵ *República de Colombia, anales del senado*, series I, nos. 11, 12, 13, pp. 83-88, 91-104.

¹³⁶ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1903, p. 176.

¹³⁷ *República de Colombia, anales del senado*, series I, no. 41, pp. 327, 328.

trary, this government ought to make reasonable and equitable modifications. If the Government of the United States does not accept them, Colombia will at least have the satisfaction of manifesting to the world her desire to contribute to the work of progress and civilization and of demonstrating that, if it is not consummated, the blame is not ours but that of a country which does not wish to recognize the just rights of another country, simply because she is weak, as though force should prevail against right. Unfortunately at an evil hour there have been influential in this affair passionate arguments provoked by the unfortunate communications of the minister of the United States to our chancellery. Those communications, offensive to national dignity, which seem more worthy of an agent of the Grand Turk than of a republican nation that boasts of being a friend and an example to Spanish-American countries, should be rejected with the serene energy that arises from the right which we possess.

In truth, the Colombian Government had already recognized the significance of the action upon the Hay-Herrán Treaty; for on August 13, Secretary Rico sent a cablegram to the Colombian minister in Washington which was couched as follows:

The senate by a unanimous vote has disapproved the canal treaty. Among the reasons voiced in the debate were that the treaty impaired our sovereignty, and that there was no previous arrangement of the Panamá companies with this government for the transfer of their privileges. To that rejection there contributed also a total disapproval of the notes of the American minister at Bogotá declaring against the modification of the treaty and his memorandum with regard to the possible rejection of the treaty and a delay in the exchange of ratifications. You may consider it probable that congress will formulate bases for the renewal of negotiations. Communicate the news by cable to our legations in Europe!¹³⁸

While the congress of Colombia was considering the proper bases for the renewal of canal negotiations, events transpired on the Isthmus of Panamá which were not altogether unforeseen by the government at Washington. On November 3 a revolt broke out in the city of Panamá. By order of the United States Government to its naval commanders Colombian soldiers were prevented from proceeding to Panamá to quell the

¹³⁸ *Libro azul*, p. 362. See further, Reyes, *The Two Americas*, pp. 69, 70.

insurrection:—citizens of Panamá soon declared that the department of Panamá was independent of Colombia. On November 6 the United States recognized the independence of the republic of Panamá; and Secretary Hay instructed the American minister at Bogotá that the United States advised Colombia to make a peaceful and equitable settlement of all questions at issue with Panamá.¹³⁹ That hasty recognition—against which the protests of Colombia were of no avail—was soon followed by the acknowledgment of Panamá's independence by other nations of America and Europe. Fortunately for Colombia the wild dreams which some of her citizens entertained of declaring war upon the United States were dismissed, and she resigned herself to attempts to secure redress by negotiations.

This redress it became difficult to secure after a new canal convention was signed on November 18, 1903, between Secretary Hay and Philippe Bunau-Varilla, the agent of Panamá. By that treaty the United States guaranteed the independence of the new republic. Panamá conceded to the United States forever a strip of land ten miles wide for the construction of a canal as well as the right of sovereignty over that zone and its adjacent waters. The Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty stipulated that the financial remuneration which by the Hay-Herrán Treaty would have been made to Colombia should instead be made to Panamá.¹⁴⁰ In this manner did the United States secure permission to dig the Panamá Canal—a permission which ignored the rights of Colombia guaranteed by the United States in the Treaty of 1846.

To adjust the difficulties arising with the United States because of Panamá's independence, Colombia dispatched to Washington a special commission headed by General Reyes. On December 23, Reyes presented to Secretary Hay a protest against the action of the United States as a violation of the treaty of 1846. He asked that Colombia's claims which arose from the events that had transpired concerning Panamá should

¹³⁹ Correspondence concerning the Convention between the United States and Colombia for the construction of an Interoceanic Canal across the Isthmus of Panamá, pp. 104-7; Reyes, p. 70. See further, Fish, *American Diplomacy*, pp. 439-42.

¹⁴⁰ Malloy, vol. II, pp. 1348-57.

be submitted to the Hague Tribunal for arbitration.¹⁴¹ This protest was in vain. For Hay assumed the view that the problems which might need adjustment lay between Colombia and Panamá; and he declared that the political questions which had arisen between the United States and Colombia could not properly be referred to the Hague.¹⁴² An attempt was made to settle the differences between Colombia and the United States in 1909 through a treaty negotiated between Colombia's agent Enrique Cortés and Secretary of State Elihu Root. In conjunction with contemporaneous treaties projected between Colombia and Panamá, and between Panamá and the United States, the Cortés-Root Treaty provided that Colombia should recognize the independence of Panamá, that the Treaty of 1846 should virtually be abrogated, that Colombia should relinquish all claims and declare Panamá free from all indebtedness incurred prior to November 3, 1903, and that Panamá should pay Colombia two hundred and fifty thousand dollars per year for ten years—1908 to 1917 inclusive—from the cash payments made by the United States upon the completion of the Panamá Canal Convention.¹⁴³ But Colombian public opinion rejected this adjustment, which legalized the loss of Colombia's most precious jewel by a compensation that was judged inadequate.

In 1914 another attempt was made to settle the Panamá affair. At the instance of his government, Thaddeus A. Thompson, minister of the United States in Colombia, initiated negotiations for the adjustment of the controversy. As a result, on April 6, 1914, there was signed at Bogotá by Minister Thompson and Francisco J. Urrutia, secretary of foreign relations for Colombia, a significant treaty. The Thompson-Urrutia Treaty contained some expressions of regret by the United States Government for the differences which had arisen between itself and Colombia because of Panamá. That treaty gave to Colombia special privileges in the use of the Panamá Canal. The United States agreed to pay Colombia twenty-five million dollars as indemnity for injuries due to Panamá's independence.

¹⁴¹ Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. III, pp. 78-90.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 90-105, 109, 110, 113.

¹⁴³ Uribe, vol. V, pp. 40-49.

A law of the Colombian congress dated June 9, 1914, approved the treaty.¹⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the Senate of the United States did not ratify this treaty of reconciliation.¹⁴⁵

A few quotations from the press of Bogotá will suggest Colombian sentiment about the Panamá affair which was thus left unsettled. To some Colombians the status of that affair even seemed to justify a certain aloofness with regard to the policy of the United States toward the warring nations of Europe. On February 13, 1917, in a discussion of "The Neutrality of Colombia," Ismael Enrique Arciniegas, the editor of *El nuevo tiempo*, expressed his opinion that each sovereign state of Hispanic America should make an independent decision concerning the policy to be pursued during the World War. To quote again:

Our Alliadophile sentiments are so well known that it might be believed that the attitude of this journal should be definitely in favor of the United States in the contention between that country and Germany. But,—higher than those opinions,—first in our minds, is the sentiment of love for our country, and that love will never allow us to forget the offenses which the Anglo-Saxon Republic has committed against us. . . . That nation which invokes the principles of international law to induce us to join her protest against Germany is engaged in a mockery. Chivalrous indeed would be the policy of the White House in assuming the rôle of a paladin of justice and humanity, if there did not weigh upon it the crime of Panamá, the most cowardly, the most odious, and the most disloyal of the international crimes which are recorded in modern history! With what authority,—after events like those of November 3, 1903, can a nation speak in the name of international law?

On February 21, 1917, in commenting upon a report that President Wilson had sent a message to the Senate urging the ratification of the Thompson-Urrutia Treaty, the editor of *El nuevo tiempo* said that public opinion in Hispanic America

¹⁴⁴ *Tratado entre la república de Colombia y los Estados Unidos de América para el arreglo de sus diferencias provenientes de los acontecimientos realizados en el istmo de Panamá en Noviembre de 1903, suscrito en Bogotá el 6 de Abril de 1914*, pp. 147-57.

¹⁴⁵ In the time that has elapsed since December, 1919, when this monograph was ready for the press, the modified Thompson-Urrutia Treaty has been ratified by both parties.

favored the Allies and frowned upon the injustice and brutality of Germany's submarine campaign.

We have always believed that the present President of the Anglo-Saxon Republic was animated by a just spirit toward our country. There is no doubt that a decisive influence must have been exerted upon his mind by the responses which have been given by almost all of the Hispanic-American states to his note concerning the submarine warfare,—responses in which there could be seen, more or less thinly veiled, a lack of confidence in regard to that nation, which, until a few lustrums ago, all of those states considered as the protector of the independence and liberty of the nations in the New World. . . . How can a nation speak of law after the spoliation of Panamá in which she did not respect her word pledged in public treaties and in which she most shamefully abused her own force and another nation's confidence? . . . Even though the United States Senate does not hearken to the new message of President Wilson, we will be sustained by the opinion of the Hispanic-American republics. . . .

CHAPTER VI

THE UNITED STATES AND COMMERCIAL INTER-COURSE WITH HISPANIC AMERICA

The commerce between the United States and Hispanic-American colonies—Commercial relations during the Spanish-American revolutionary era—The first consular agencies of the United States in Hispanic America—Commercial status of the Spanish-American states after recognition by the United States—Early commercial treaties between the United States and Hispanic-American states—Their commercial intercourse from 1825 to 1850—The policy of the United States concerning the navigation of international rivers in Hispanic America—Commercial intercourse from 1850 to 1900—Reciprocity—The commerce of the United States with the Hispanic-American states in 1914—Obstacles to trade between the United States and Hispanic-American countries—Commercial intercourse of the United States with the Hispanic-American states during the World War—The “Latin-American Division” of the Department of Commerce—Management of Hispanic-American commerce.

Commercial relations between the United States and Hispanic America hark back to the colonial epoch of United States history. Before Thomas Jefferson penned the Declaration of Independence whaling vessels manned by hardy sailors from the New England colonies had pursued their gigantic game in southern waters and visited ports in Hispanic America. The commercial intercourse of the United States with colonial Spanish America had its real beginnings in the trade with the neighboring continental and insular colonies of Spain.

As early as 1789–1790 there were imported into Connecticut from Florida, Louisiana, and the Spanish West Indies spirits, molasses, coffee, brown sugar, salt, and indigo, while the port of Philadelphia had evidently established a trade in molasses and sugar with other Spanish-American colonies.¹ At the same time large quantities of produce of the fisheries were shipped from the United States to the Spanish West Indies.² Because of the scarcity of provisions in Cuba due to the war in Europe,

¹ *American State Papers: Commerce and Navigation*, vol. I, pp. 74, 83.

² Pitkin, *Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States*, p. 84.

in June, 1793, the king of Spain issued an order which temporarily permitted the importation of flour into Habana by citizens of the United States.³ Some trade was undoubtedly carried on between the United States and South America indirectly through Spanish ports. A merchant of Caracas said in 1797 that many barrels of flour from the United States were thus imported into Venezuela.⁴ In November, 1798, the United States vessel *John* arrived at Montevideo with a cargo of lumber and staves from Philadelphia.⁵ The *Liberty* of Philadelphia was permitted to sail from the Río de la Plata for Habana in the following year with a cargo of salt meat and tallow.⁶ Such voyages indicated the beginnings of commercial intercourse between the United States and southern South America.

Trade between the United States and the Spanish colonies in America was stimulated by the Napoleonic wars. During those wars United States vessels transported many products of the Spanish islands and supplied them with European goods. Three vessels from Baltimore apparently secured clearance papers at La Guaira in 1800 and 1803.⁷ Early in the nineteenth century United States vessels carried manufactured goods to ports in Venezuela, la Plata, and Chile, and returned with agricultural produce.⁸ In the first decade of that century many vessels were plying between ports in the United States and Montevideo or Buenos Aires,⁹—a route which was followed by other United States vessels during the Spanish-American Revolution.¹⁰ Vessels of the United States were carrying cotton goods, lumber, and furniture to Buenos Aires in 1810 and returning with hides, tallow, and wool.¹¹

³ *Documentos para la historia argentina*, vol. vii, p. 107.

⁴ Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda," in *American Historical Association Report*, 1907, vol. i, p. 222.

⁵ "The River Plate Voyages, 1798-1800," in *American Historical Review*, vol. xxiii, pp. 816, 817.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 822, 823.

⁷ Rutter, "South American Trade of Baltimore," in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, vol. xv, no. 9, p. 11, n. 1.

⁸ Chandler, *Inter-American Acquaintances*, pp. 29-31; "The River Plate Voyages," *loc. cit.*, vol. xxiii, pp. 821-25.

⁹ Chandler, "United States Merchant Ships in the Rio de la Plata (1801-1809), as shown by Early Newspapers," in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. ii, pp. 26-29, 36-40, 50-52.

¹⁰ *Gaceta de Buenos Aires*, September 25, 1810; October 19, 1816.

¹¹ Chandler, *Inter-American Acquaintances*, pp. 63-66.

In his *Statistical View* Pitkin estimated that in 1795 the United States exported to the Spanish colonies goods amounting to \$1,389,219, and imported from those colonies goods amounting to \$1,739,138.¹² According to the same authority, by 1801 the value of exports from the United States to those colonies had increased to \$8,437,659, while imports had increased to \$12,-799,898. By 1816 exports of foreign and domestic commerce from the United States to Spain's colonies in the West Indies and South America amounted to \$5,780,612. Of this amount the commerce with South American colonies apparently constituted only a small part.¹³ The United States Government was not inattentive to the trade with South America: in March, 1813, the United States frigate *Essex* under Captain David Porter anchored at Valparaíso having proceeded from Philadelphia in order to protect American commerce in southern waters.¹⁴

While this trade was developing some of the Hispanic-American peoples had tried to promote commerce. Certain Spanish-American revolutionists early displayed a desire to extend their commercial relations with foreign countries. In September, 1810, the provisional *junta* at Caracas issued a decree granting to English merchants a reduction of one quarter of the import and export duties which were levied at its custom houses.¹⁵ At Buenos Aires the *junta* soon took measures showing its intention to admit the products of foreign countries free or upon the payment of certain duties.¹⁶ The *junta* at Santiago de Chile issued a decree on February 21, 1811, announcing that Chilean ports had been opened to the commerce of the United States.¹⁷

A considerable amount of trade was apparently carried on between Brazil and foreign nations before the monopolistic colonial system was abolished. In 1807 the United States

¹² Pitkin, p. 228.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 228, 229, 252, 255; cf. *American State Papers: Commerce and Navigation*, vol. I, p. 489; *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 55.

¹⁴ *Aurora de Chile*, March 18, 1813.

¹⁵ Mr. Lowry to Secretary Monroe, September 6, 1810, State Department MSS., Consular Letters, La Guaira, vol. I.

¹⁶ *Registro oficial de la república argentina*, vol. I, pp. 76, 119, 138.

¹⁷ Address from the provisional government of Chile to the President and Congress of the United States, March 22, 1811, State Department MSS., Papers Relative to the Revolted Spanish Colonies.

exported to Portuguese America goods which almost amounted to five thousand dollars.¹⁸ With the transfer of the Portuguese ruling dynasty to Rio de Janeiro a stimulus was given to foreign trade; for, by a famous decree dated January 28, 1808, the ports of Brazil were thrown open to the vessels of all friendly nations, subject to the payment of import duties of twenty-five per cent.¹⁹ According to Pitkin, in 1809 the value of exports from the United States to Portuguese America amounted to almost nine hundred thousand dollars of which amount more than one-half was domestic produce.²⁰ The trade of the United States with Brazil was checked by the war of 1812. Statistics of United States commerce with Portuguese America in 1816 were exports of domestic produce \$262,489; and exports of foreign produce \$150,920.²¹ As early as 1810 the secretary of state of the United States wrote to the American minister at Rio de Janeiro instructing him to stimulate commerce between Brazil and the United States.²²

A monograph concerning the trade of Baltimore describes the development of its commerce with South America. This port had commercial intercourse with all the countries upon the northern and eastern coasts of South America by 1810. In that year large quantities of European goods were exported from Baltimore to Brazil. The trade of this port with Peru probably did not begin until the war of 1812 had terminated; in 1816 a vessel evidently cleared from Baltimore for Lima and Canton.²³ It is unlikely, however, that much trade was carried on between the United States and Peru before the Peruvian Proclamation of Independence. After 1821 American cotton goods and flour were regularly exchanged for Peruvian silver. The following table, taken from statistics published by the Government of the United States, shows the amount of commerce between that country and the Hispanic-American

¹⁸ *American State Papers: Commerce and Navigation*, vol. I, p. 729.

¹⁹ *Collecção das leis do Brazil*, 1808, pp. 1, 2.

²⁰ Pitkin, p. 232.

²¹ *American State Papers: Commerce and Navigation*, vol. II, p. 55.

²² Oliveira Lima, *Dom João VI no Brazil*, vol. I, p. 406.

²³ Rutter, p. 14.

countries in 1821. Presumably there was some commerce with other nations besides Brazil, which, however, is the only country for which official statistics are available.

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS IN THE YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1821²⁴

Country	Imports into the United States			Exports from the United States		
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Brazil	\$155,116	\$430,510	\$585,626	\$885,348	\$339,413	\$1,224,761
Total	\$155,116	\$430,510	\$585,626	\$885,348	\$339,413	\$1,224,761

To judge by the commerce of Baltimore, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, sugar, hides, and coffee were the principal imports into the United States from Brazil, hides were the chief imports from la Plata countries, coffee, cocoa, and indigo were imported from Venezuela, and silver, copper, and platinum from Chile and Peru.²⁵ During the nine months ending September 30, 1823, there were brought into Baltimore \$123,225 in coin from Peru and Chile.²⁶ It is worthy of passing notice that in the same decade an enterprising publisher of Philadelphia named Matthew Carey essayed to extend his trade to Caracas and Buenos Aires.²⁷

Some data gathered from Peruvian newspapers further suggest the character of the early trade between the United States and South America. The *Correo mercantil*, Lima, April 6, 1822, mentioned the arrival at Callao of the *America* from New York with a cargo of more than four thousand barrels of flour, four barrels of butter, five cases of vermillion, several cases of silk goods, one case of cotton goods, two hundred kegs of paint, ten barrels containing bearskins, and various cases and barrels with medicines for a warship. On March 11, 1823, there anchored

²⁴ Compiled from *American Commerce: Commerce of South America, Central America, Mexico, and West Indies*, pp. 3291-3301.

²⁵ Rutter, pp. 11, 14, 15.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²⁷ Bradsher, *Matthew Carey*, p. 68.

at Callao the *American* from Baltimore, after one hundred and twelve days of sailing, with a cargo of flour, bacon, and beef.²⁸ The whaling vessel *Pacific*, after twenty-eight months at sea, anchored at Callao on April 21, 1823, with twenty-one sailors in her crew and laden with seventeen hundred barrels of whale oil.²⁹ After an eight days' voyage from Valparaiso, on May 13 of that year another vessel laden with wood and other products, reached Callao.³⁰ Ten days later there arrived in the same port the schooner *Amanda*, thirteen days out from Guayaquil, with a cargo of sugar and tobacco.³¹ A vessel from the United States reached Callao on the following day after an eight months' voyage by way of Gibraltar, laden with flour, butter, tobacco, quicksilver, and European merchandise.³²

Meantime some of the Spanish-American governments had taken steps to promote foreign commerce. The congress of Great Colombia enacted a law on September 21, 1821, establishing uniform duties throughout its jurisdiction and providing that goods imported in foreign vessels should pay five per cent higher duties than goods imported in Colombian vessels.³³ A week later the Peruvian Government issued a decree stipulating that the ports of Callao and Huanchaco should be open to all neutral or friendly countries of the world and levying a duty of twenty per cent upon goods introduced under a foreign flag which was not that of Chile, Great Colombia, or the United Provinces of la Plata.³⁴ The provisional Mexican Government issued a decree on December 15, 1821, providing that a uniform duty of twenty-five per cent should be levied upon the products of all foreign countries when imported into Mexico.³⁵ In this manner the rising states took steps which demonstrated their desire to promote a freer commerce than they had been permitted to carry on during the colonial regime. The Colombian

²⁸ *Correo mercantil*, March 24, 1823.

²⁹ *Suplemento al correo mercantil*, April 24, 1823.

³⁰ *Correo mercantil*, May 17, 1823.

³¹ *Suplemento al correo mercantil*, May 17, 1823.

³² *Correo mercantil*, May 24, 1823.

³³ *Cuerpo de leyes de la república de Colombia*, vol. I, pp. 94-97.

³⁴ Rodriguez, *Estudios económicos y financieros*, pp. 362, 363.

³⁵ *Colección de órdenes y decretos de la soberana junta provisional gubernativa*, vol. I, p. 48.

secretary Manual Gual said in 1823, "Our ports have been freely opened to the commerce of neutrals, in order that by experience they may learn the importance of a country which the miserable policy of the Spaniards shrouded in obscurity."³⁶

The Government of the United States early displayed an interest in the commerce of Spanish America. It appointed consuls to certain ports in the islands of Cuba and Santo Domingo in 1797 and 1798.³⁷ On January 8, 1800, it appointed Augustine Madan consul for La Guaira and the province of Caracas.³⁸ Just before the revolt against Spanish rule broke out in Mexico, the United States had indicated her design to send commercial agents to that country; for, on June 16, 1810, Secretary of State Robert Smith addressed a letter to William Shaler stating that, as the authorities in Mexico might refuse to recognize a consul of the United States, he had been made "Agent for Seamen and Commerce in the port of Vera Cruz and all other ports in the said Province." Shaler was instructed "to attend to the commercial and other concerns" of United States citizens in all cases when they would naturally "fall under the patronage of a Consul," and he was given the power to appoint deputies within his own district.³⁹

The first citizen of the United States who actually served his government in South America after the great Revolution began was Robert K. Lowry, who in June, 1810, was sent as agent for seamen and commerce to the port of La Guaira in Venezuela.⁴⁰ On June 28 of that year Joel R. Poinsett was appointed "Agent for Seamen and Commerce" at Buenos Aires;⁴¹ and on November 8, 1811, he was appointed consul general for "the Spanish provinces of Buenos Aires, Chile, and Peru."⁴² The commercial agents or consuls of the United States were instructed to send to Washington reports of important events in Hispanic America.

³⁶ Uribe, *Anales diplomáticos y consulares de Colombia*, vol. III, p. 10.

³⁷ *Senate Executive Journal*, vol. I, pp. 256, 282.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 332, 333.

³⁹ "Notes and Documents," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. II, p. 566. Shaler, at least, did not serve in the post indicated in the text.

⁴⁰ Robertson, "The Beginnings of Spanish-American Diplomacy," in *Turner Essays in American History*, pp. 250-52.

⁴¹ Paxson, *The Independence of the South-American Republics*, pp. 106, 109.

⁴² *Senate Executive Journal*, vol. II, pp. 188, 190.

They directed the attention of Hispanic-American governments to the importance of fostering commerce with the United States.

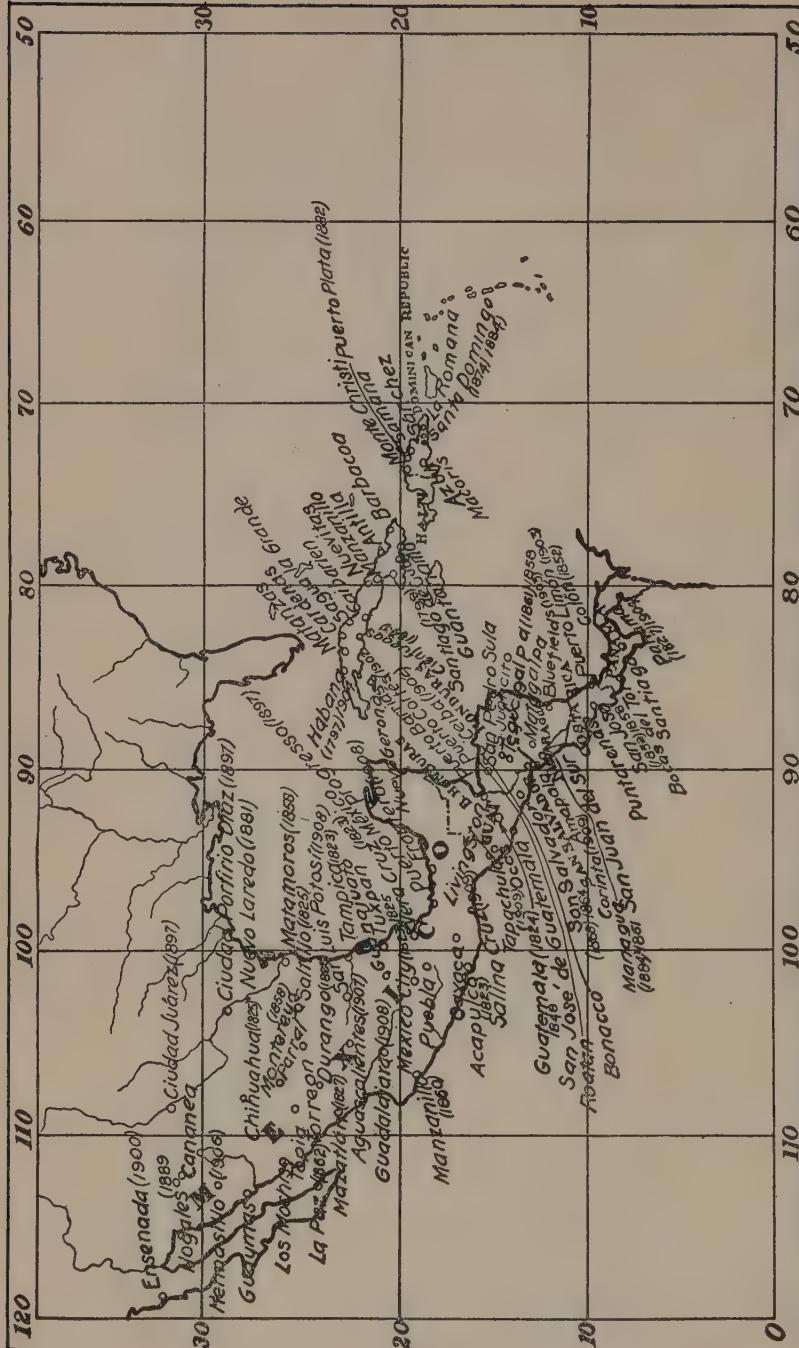
While the policy of the United States Government toward the Spanish-American revolution was one of neutrality, yet, as early as 1815, by orders of its secretary of the treasury to the collectors at various ports, merchant vessels from the revolted provinces were permitted to unload cargoes at its ports and to depart from them with return cargoes no matter what flag they bore.⁴³ Yet commercial relations were far from satisfactory. In 1817 Pitkin urged that there was imperative need of a good understanding with the revolted Spanish colonies; for, aside from the markets which they afforded to the products of the United States, the merchants of that country secured from Spanish America large quantities of precious metals which enabled them to carry on their trade with China and the East Indies and to pay the balances due to other countries.⁴⁴

Before President Monroe had signed the act making appropriations for diplomatic missions to the independent nations of Spanish America, consuls or consular agents of the United States had been appointed to Angostura, Venezuela, and to Montevideo in *la Banda Oriental del Uruguay*. After May 4, 1822, consular agents or consuls were sent to other cities and ports in the rising republics. From November, 1822, to February, 1825, such agents were stationed in Mexico City, Guatemala City, Panamá, Carthagena, Guayaquil, Lima, and Santiago de Chile. When the seat of the Portuguese monarchy was established at Rio de Janeiro, the United States appointed consuls to San Salvador, Maranhão, Pernambuco, and Rio de Janeiro. Soon after the United States recognized the independence of the Brazilian Empire, a consul was appointed to Maranham.⁴⁵ Those consuls or consular agents soon began to send valuable reports to Washington concerning political and economic conditions in their respective districts. As the years passed, consular agencies of the United States were widely distributed throughout Hispanic-American countries, while the

⁴³ Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. I, pp. 170-73.

⁴⁴ Pitkin, pp. 229, 230.

⁴⁵ "Notes and Documents," *loc. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 563-66.



LEGATIONS AND CONSULAR AGENCIES OF THE UNITED STATES IN HISPANIC

MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA IN 1914

Figures in parentheses show date of the first appointment of a consul or a consul general to the respective town or city; figures not in parentheses show date of first appointment of a chargé or minister to the respective country.



LEGATIONS AND CONSULAR
AGENCIES OF THE UNITED
STATES IN HISPANIC AMERICA
IN 1914
SOUTH AMERICA

Figures in parentheses show date of the first appointment of a consul or consul general to the respective town or city; figures not in parentheses show date of the first appointment of a chargé or minister to the respective country.

governments of those countries sent consuls to important ports and cities in the United States.

The problem of the adjustment of commercial relations with the Spanish-American republics—pending the negotiation of treaties between them and the United States—was considered seriously by President Monroe shortly after he decided to acknowledge their independence. In an inedited memorandum the President expressed his opinion that, after the United States had recognized those republics, she could only regard them as sovereign and independent nations entitled in her ports and in her intercourse with them to all the privileges that were enjoyed by other nations. He declared that in the commercial intercourse which might take place between the United States and the new republics those nations would be subject to no other restrictions than such as were “applicable to legitimate blockades, and to contraband of war.” In view of the war which was still being waged between Spain and her revolted colonies, Monroe declared that with regard to the United States the motherland had no other rights than those of a belligerent toward a neutral, while each of the new republics had the same right. To determine the international obligations of his government toward the Spanish-American nations the President had recourse to the Treaty of San Lorenzo which was concluded on October 27, 1795, between the United States and Spain. He stated that Article XV of this treaty provided that, in case of a war between either of the contracting parties and a third power, the ships of the neutral nation should accord freedom to the goods conveyed in them with the exception of such articles as were contraband of war.⁴⁶

Other statesmen took a similar view. Upon the appointment of a minister of the United States to Great Colombia, Secretary Adams expressed the opinion that, in spite of her Declaration of Independence from Spain, Colombia was still bound in honor and justice by such conventions of the motherland with other powers as affected her rights and interests.⁴⁷ In negotiations

⁴⁶ Monroe Papers, vol. vi.

⁴⁷ American State Papers: *Foreign Relations*, vol. v, p. 896.

between Poinsett and Mexican commissioners certain provisions of the Treaty of San Lorenzo were used as a basis for commercial stipulations in a projected treaty between Mexico and the United States. And, at a subsequent date, in the case of the privateer *La Fortuna*—which in 1818 was captured by a Venezuelan revolutionary vessel—the arbitrator properly took the view that the mutual rights and obligations of the Spanish-American republics and of the United States during the period anterior to the ratification of treaties between the United States and each of these republics were determined by the stipulations in the Treaty of San Lorenzo between the United States and Spain.⁴⁸

The following table gives a summary of the commercial relations of the United States with the Hispanic-American nations in 1825—the year when the first commercial treaty between the United States and a country of South America was proclaimed in force.

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS IN THE
YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1825⁴⁹

Country	Imports into the United States			Exports from the United States		
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Argentina . . .	\$378,779	\$96,586	\$475,365	\$404,201	\$166,299	\$570,500
Brazil	939,360	1,020,159	1,959,519	1,641,296	654,115	2,295,411
Central America . . .	13,139	29,704	42,843	40,377	55,945	96,322
Chile	175,877	7,326	183,203	454,254	378,424	832,678
Great Colombia . . .	564,673	1,072,918	1,637,591	1,118,280	1,102,575	2,220,855
Mexico	142,604	1,298,935	1,441,539	951,040	5,319,158	6,270,198
Peru	7,579	16,144	23,723	359,854	374,944	734,798
Total . . .	\$2,222,011	\$3,541,772	\$5,763,783	\$4,969,302	\$8,051,460	\$13,020,762

The above statistics fail to indicate the great fluctuations that frequently occurred in the commercial intercourse between the

⁴⁸ Moore, *International Arbitrations*, vol. III, pp. 2737, 2738; see further *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 1574-75.

⁴⁹ Compiled from *American Commerce*, pp. 3280-3329.

United States and Hispanic-American states from year to year. This table does not show any commerce of the United States with Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Whatever commerce there may have been between the United States and those nations presumably was carried on through adjacent South American countries: for Bolivia through Peru and for the other two countries through Argentina. Although these statistics are probably not entirely accurate, yet they indicate the relative distribution of the commerce of the United States with certain Hispanic-American nations at a juncture when they had practically established their independence from the motherlands.

In the instructions written by Secretary Adams for the earliest diplomatic agents to the new states of Spanish America their attention was directed to the principle upon which the United States desired to regulate her trade with those nations. Minister Anderson was given power to negotiate concerning commerce; he was informed that while the United States claimed no exclusive privilege for herself, she trusted that Colombia would deny any exclusive privilege to other countries.⁵⁰

Soon after his arrival at Bogotá Anderson initiated negotiations with the Colombian secretary of foreign relations in regard to a treaty of commerce. The chief difficulty arose because of the Colombian practice of encouraging privateers to prey upon Spanish commerce wherever it was found, while the United States maintained that free ships made free goods.⁵¹ Anderson ultimately convinced the Colombian secretary that he should tentatively accept that principle. In the treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation which was signed by Anderson and Gual on October 3, 1824, and proclaimed on May 31, 1825, the principle of the most favored nation was also incorporated; for it stipulated that neither of the contracting nations would grant any special favor in respect to commerce and navigation to a third nation which should not "immediately become common to the other party."

⁵⁰ Robertson, "The First Legations of the United States in Latin America," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. II, pp. 194-96.

⁵¹ Rivas, *Relaciones internacionales entre Colombia y los Estados Unidos*, pp. 24, 25. See further, Mendoza, "Estudios de historia diplomática: el tratado de 1824 entre Colombia y los Estados Unidos," in *Boletín de historia y antigüedades*, vol. II, pp. 389-402, 458-76.

This treaty also made stipulations about certain mutual trade privileges. It provided that the citizens of each party might reside and trade upon the coasts and within the dominions of the other contracting party "with all the rights, privileges, and exemptions in navigation and commerce which the most favored nation does or shall enjoy," always submitting themselves to the laws, decrees, and usages respectively in force in regard to the citizens of the most favored nations. It also stipulated that the "citizens of each of the contracting parties shall have power to dispose of their personal goods within the jurisdiction of the other, by sale, donation, testament or otherwise." Each contracting nation agreed to protect the persons and property of the citizens of the other nation and to allow them recourse to her tribunals of justice. The parties defined contraband of war so as to include cannon of various calibers, small arms, armor, uniforms, horses, cavalry accoutrements, and all kinds of arms, instruments, and materials prepared expressly to make war by sea or land. Such contraband articles found in a vessel bound for an enemy's port should be "subject to detention and confiscation." Yet no ship of Great Colombia or of the United States should be detained upon the high seas because of contraband articles in the cargo, if the ship's captain would deliver up those articles to the captor. About the principle that free ships made free goods the agreement was reached that the neutral flag should protect only the goods of enemies whose governments recognized that principle. In cases where the neutral flag did not cover the property of an enemy the two nations agreed that the goods of the neutral embarked in such enemy's ships should be free. Those nations also agreed that all merchandise which was not contraband might be freely carried by either party to ports belonging to an enemy of the other party, unless such ports were blockaded. They expressly declared, however, that only such places would be considered besieged or blockaded as were "actually attacked by a belligerent force capable of preventing the entry of the neutral."⁵²

In 1825 Secretary Clay directed the attention of Minister

⁵² Malloy, *Treaties*, vol. I, pp. 292-301.

Poinsett to the instructions to Minister Anderson and furnished him with a copy of the Treaty of 1824. The secretary expressed confidence that Mexico would concede no favor or privilege to the commerce of European countries that she did not grant to the commerce of the United States. While Clay stated that the treaty with Great Colombia would assist Poinsett in framing a treaty with Mexico, yet he expressed the wish that in place of the most favored nation clause there might be substituted a provision "placing the Commerce and Navigation of the two countries on the most liberal footing of reciprocity between the resident citizen and the Foreigner. . . ."⁵³

In the negotiation of a treaty between the United States and Mexico a difficulty arose which is somewhat typical of the early attitude of certain Spanish-American nations to the United States. During the conferences with Poinsett, Mexico's commissioners signified the intention of their government to negotiate treaties with Spanish-American republics which would concede to them special commercial privileges that were not granted to any other power. Poinsett made strenuous objections to such proposals maintaining that no distinction should be made between any of the American nations; that the United States should at least be considered on an equal footing with the other American republics; and that the treaty with Great Colombia did not contain such a provision.⁵⁴ The arguments of Poinsett finally prevailed. In the treaty which his successor negotiated in 1831 with the Mexican Government there was an article providing that neither the United States nor Mexico would grant any favor in commerce and navigation to another nation which should not "immediately become common to the other party."⁵⁵ For a number of years the negotiation of a treaty to replace the Colombian Treaty of 1824 was obstructed because the Government of New Granada was unwilling to admit merchandise from the United States into its ports upon the same

⁵³ Secretary Clay to Mr. Poinsett, March 26, 1825, State Department MSS., Instructions to Ministers, vol. x.

⁵⁴ Manning, *Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Mexico*, pp. 206-50. The treaty and protocols of fourteen conferences thereon are found in *Tratados y convenciones celebrados y no ratificados por la república mexicana*, pp. 60-145.

⁵⁵ Malloy, vol. I, p. 1086.

conditions as goods from the Central American Federation were admitted in accordance with an anterior treaty of perpetual union, league, and confederation between New Granada and that government.⁵⁶ But the United States persisted in her policy, as may be illustrated by a provision in her first treaty with Ecuador, which stipulated that the term "most favored nation," as used in that treaty, should place the citizens of the United States in Ecuador "upon an equal footing" with Spanish subjects and with citizens of Mexico and other Hispanic-American nations "with which treaties have been or may be concluded."⁵⁷ The persistence of the United States Government in that respect ultimately bore good fruit; for the most favored nation clause, liberally interpreted, is found in existing commercial treaties between it and Hispanic-American nations.

The Treaty of 1824 between Colombia and the United States continued to regulate the commercial intercourse between the United States and northern South America for many years. After Great Colombia broke up into Ecuador, New Granada, and Venezuela, that treaty was acknowledged by New Granada as regulating her relations with the United States until its commercial provisions lapsed in 1837.⁵⁸ The chancellery of Venezuela publicly acknowledged the Colombian Treaty of 1824 as binding upon that state pending the negotiation of a treaty with the United States, which did not take place until 1836.⁵⁹ Similarly, with regard to Ecuador, the Treaty of 1824 remained in force until the ratification of a treaty between that nation and the United States in 1839.⁶⁰

In contrast with the Colombian Treaty of 1824 a noteworthy clause appeared in the Treaty of 1825 between the United States and the Central American Federation in the article providing that the coasting trade of the respective nations might be regulated by special laws⁶¹—a provision which was embodied in

⁵⁶ Rivas, pp. 76, 77; Uribe, vol. III, pp. 34, 85, 86, 111, 112.

⁵⁷ Malloy, vol. I, p. 430.

⁵⁸ Uribe, vol. III, pp. 111, 120.

⁵⁹ *Exposición de la secretaría de relaciones exteriores*, 1835, p. 5; *ibid.*, 1836, pp. 6, 7.

⁶⁰ Moore, *International Arbitrations*, vol. II, pp. 1574, 1575.

⁶¹ *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. XIII, p. 840.

subsequent treaties between the United States and other Hispanic-American states. As those treaties with the United States were negotiated at a time when the Hispanic-American nations were entering the society of nations they were not without influence upon the ideals of international comity which were adopted by the new states. Especially was this true of the provisions concerning such matters as blockades and contraband of war which were embodied in the Colombian Treaty of 1824. Those provisions were repeated in the treaty of 1831 between the United States and Mexico. Incorporated in Chile's first treaty with the United States, they were appreciatively referred to by Antonio Varas, Chile's secretary of foreign relations, in his message to the Chilean congress in 1850: "Congress is aware that as regards the mutual rights of belligerents and neutrals the United States of America is the nation which has furnished the norm to the Hispanic-American republics. . . ."⁶²

More or less similar to some provisions in the treaty between Colombia and the United States, as modified in 1846 in the treaty between the United States and New Granada, were certain provisions in the treaty of 1853 between Argentina and the United States. In that treaty the most favored nation policy was applied to the consular and diplomatic service. Article IX contained a noteworthy clause declaring that if a citizen of either of the contracting parties died without a will or a testament within the dominions of the other party the consul general of the nation to which the deceased belonged, or his representative, should have the right to administer the estate of the deceased. This treaty also specifically provided that the tonnage or shipping dues imposed in the ports of a contracting nation upon the vessels of the other nation should be no higher than those payable by her own vessels. The same duties should be paid and the same drawbacks allowed upon cargoes in vessels of one party in ports of the other party whether such importation or exportation was made in United States vessels or Argentine vessels.⁶³

⁶² *Memoria del ministro de relaciones exteriores presentada al congreso nacional, 1850,* p. 17.

⁶³ Malloy, vol. I, pp. 20-28.

Let us turn again to a consideration of the commerce between the United States and the Hispanic-American states, devoting some attention to its character. During the period from 1825 to 1850 some interior trade—which did not appear in custom-house books—was carried on between certain western settlements in the United States and Mexico. Sets of harness and wagons were sent from Pittsburg to Sante Fé in exchange for specie.⁶⁴ To Mexico, Central America, and the countries of South America, especially to Great Colombia, Chile, and Brazil, large quantities of white and colored cotton goods were exported from the United States.⁶⁵ The city of Baltimore became an emporium of South American trade. A high grade of flour which was made for the Brazilian market by Baltimore millers became a favorite brand in the tropics.⁶⁶ From Central America the United States imported in 1850 over three hundred thousand pounds of cocoa.⁶⁷ In the year ending September 30, 1837, the United States imported hides from Chile and Mexico amounting to about two hundred thousand dollars apiece; from Argentina to about one-half million dollars, and from Brazil to almost a million dollars.⁶⁸ The United States imported from Argentina in 1850 over ten million pounds of wool;⁶⁹ and from Brazil she imported the same quantity of sugar.⁷⁰ Merchants of New Orleans, New York, and Baltimore became large importers of coffee, especially from Brazil.⁷¹ Shortly before 1850 considerable quantities of guano from Peru were brought into Baltimore: that city became a distributing center for commercial fertilizer which was used to renew worn-out tobacco lands.⁷² Smelting companies were incorporated in Maryland for the reduction of copper ore which was imported from the distant

⁶⁴ *Niles' Register*, vol. XXXVII, p. 230; *ibid.*, vol. LXI, pp. 100, 101; *ibid.*, vol. LXXII, p. 19.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. LXIV, p. 254; *Commerce and Navigation of the United States*, 1838, p. 151; *ibid.*, 1850, p. 35.

⁶⁶ Rutter, pp. 19, 20; *Niles' Register*, vol. XXXV, p. 284.

⁶⁷ *Commerce and Navigation of the United States*, 1850, p. 225.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1838, p. 11. ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1850, p. 211. ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 1850, p. 227.

⁷¹ Rutter, pp. 27-36.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 42; *Commerce and Navigation of the United States*, 1850, p. 149.

mines of Chile.⁷³ A statistical view of the commerce between the United States and the Hispanic-American nations in 1850 is presented in the following table:

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS IN THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1850⁷⁴

Country	Imports into the United States			Exports from the United States		
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Argentina . . .	\$14,679	\$2,637,348	\$2,652,027	\$718,331	\$109,096	\$827,427
Brazil	7,434,220	1,888,043	9,322,263	2,711,267	206,157	2,917,424
Central America . . .	57,418	187,350	244,768	41,035	12,967	54,002
Chile	159,448	1,518,372	1,677,820	1,297,133	125,588	1,422,721
New Granada . . .	19,794	142,159	161,953	765,619	217,600	983,219
Ecuador . . . .	.....	4,618	4,618	24,414	10,511	34,925
Mexico	40,716	534,484	575,200	1,498,791	514,036	2,012,827
Peru	5,848	161,655	167,503	258,939	16,789	275,728
Uruguay . . . .	.....	.....	.....	60,024	1,518	61,542
Venezuela	1,293,187	577,330	1,870,517	504,559	23,422	527,981
Total	\$9,025,310	\$7,651,359	\$16,676,669	\$7,880,112	\$1,237,684	\$9,117,796

In the period from 1850 to 1875, the Government of the United States strove to exert a liberal influence upon the commercial policies of certain nations of Hispanic America. During those years the policy which the United States persistently championed in regard to the navigation of international rivers was accepted by important nations in South America. This principle was that when rivers flowed through more than one state they should be open to navigation not only by the vessels of all the riparian states but also by vessels of all the nations of the world.

The policy of the United States was indicated on July 10, 1853, when diplomatic representatives of England, France, and

⁷³ Rutter, pp. 37, 38.

⁷⁴ Compiled from *American Commerce*, pp. 3280-3329.

the United States signed separate but identical treaties with the Argentine Confederation which provided that the navigation of the Paraná and Uruguay rivers should be open to the merchant vessels of all nations, even in time of war.⁷⁵ Against those treaties the province of Buenos Aires protested, declaring that the government of the confederation was not vested with authority to sign such treaties of navigation.⁷⁶ Yet by a decree of October 10, 1853, Uruguay announced that her rivers were open to the vessels and commerce of all nations.⁷⁷ And, at a later date, when the province of Buenos Aires had become incorporated in Argentina, that republic recognized the principle of free navigation which had been embodied in the treaties of 1853. In 1859, six years after a treaty of commerce between the United States and Paraguay had been arbitrarily rejected by Dictator López, a treaty of friendship and commerce was signed between those two nations by which Paraguay conceded to the merchant flag of the United States the free navigation of the Paraguay and the Paraná rivers throughout her jurisdiction.⁷⁸

On July 26, 1851, a treaty was signed between the United States and Peru which provided that any citizens of the United States who might establish a line of steamships to ply between Peru's interior ports of entry should enjoy all favors granted to any other company. So far as the navigation of the Peruvian section of the Amazon was concerned, that treaty apparently placed the citizens of the United States upon the basis of the most favored nation.⁷⁹ But by virtue of a treaty which Brazil negotiated with Peru, and through negotiations with other states that possessed territories upon the tributaries of the Amazon River, this empire sought to exercise a dominant influence upon the policies of other riparian states:—evidently the Brazilian Empire desired to exclude those nations which did not own lands upon the Amazon and its tributaries from the navi-

⁷⁵ *Registro oficial de la república argentina*, vol. III, p. 78.

⁷⁶ *Colección de los documentos relativos á la navegación fluvial del río de la Plata, el Amazonas y sus afluentes*, pp. 152-55, 174, 175; *Memorandum du gouvernement de Buenos Aires sur les traités conclus par les ministres de France, D'Angleterre, et des États Unis avec le général Justo José de Urquiza*, p. 3.

⁷⁷ *Colección de los documentos relativos á la navegación fluvial del río de la Plata, el Amazonas y sus afluentes*, p. 87.

⁷⁸ Malloy, vol. II, p. 1365.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1389, 1390.

gation of that river system.⁸⁰ In accordance with the instructions of his government, the minister of the United States at Rio de Janeiro made representations against the Brazilian policy.⁸¹ With vigor and acumen J. R. Clay, United States minister to Peru, pleaded for the freedom of navigation of international rivers in South America.

Partly due to the influence of the United States, on January 27, 1853, Bolivia issued a decree announcing that the waters of the navigable streams which flowed through her territories and emptied into the Amazon and Paraguay rivers should be open to the commerce and navigation of "all the nations of the globe."⁸² Despite the arguments of a special envoy of Brazil, on November 26, 1853, the congress of Ecuador passed a law opening to foreign commerce and navigation the Amazon and its tributaries within her jurisdiction.⁸³ And, in accordance with the policy which she had announced, on May 13, 1858, Bolivia agreed to a treaty of commerce with the United States which contained significant stipulations concerning river navigation. Article XXVI of this treaty provided that in "accordance with fixed principles of international law," Bolivia regarded the rivers Amazon and la Plata with their tributaries, "as highways or channels opened by nature for the commerce of all nations." She invited merchant vessels of the United States and of all other nations "to navigate freely in any part of their courses" which belonged to her, "ascending those rivers to Bolivian ports, and descending therefrom to the ocean," subject only to treaty provisions and her own regulations.⁸⁴

In the meantime an agitation was being carried on in the United States in favor of the free navigation of the Amazon River. A prominent part in the propaganda was taken by Lieutenant M. F. Maury of the United States naval observatory. At the request of a commercial convention which was

⁸⁰ Aranda, *Tratados del Perú*, vol. II, p. 515; Schuyler, *American Diplomacy and the Furtherance of Commerce*, pp. 332-35.

⁸¹ Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. I, pp. 642, 643; Schuyler, pp. 336-43.

⁸² *Colección oficial de leyes, decretos, ordenes, y resoluciones supremas que se ha expedido para el régimen de la república boliviana*, vol. XV, pp. 240, 241.

⁸³ *Colección de los documentos relativos á la navegación fluvial*, p. 82.

⁸⁴ Malloy, vol. I, p. 122.

held in Memphis, Tennessee, in February, 1854, Maury drew up a memorial asking Congress to make an announcement of the American policy that navigable rivers owned by two or more nations were open to the world's commerce.⁸⁵

Maury also printed a series of letters in the *National Intelligencer* and the *Union* of Washington under the pseudonym of "Inca" in which he expounded his views regarding South American rivers. Those letters were republished in a pamphlet at Washington under the title of *The Amazon and the Atlantic Slopes of South America*. In glowing words Maury described the natural resources of the Amazon and la Plata valleys and declared that it was necessary to send there "the emigrant, the steamboat, the axe and the plough, with the messengers and agencies of commerce."⁸⁶ He declared that the Japanese policy of Brazil, which had prevented civilized man from using "the fairest portion of God's earth," would be considered by the people of the United States as "a nuisance, not to say an outrage."⁸⁷ With an ardent zeal the propagandist predicted that the time would come when the people of the United States would consider the free navigation of the Amazon as hardly second in importance to the annexation of Louisiana, for it would promote "the settlement and cultivation of the great Atlantic slopes of South America."⁸⁸

Those writings of Lieutenant Maury—translated into Spanish and Portuguese—were not without influence in South America. His denunciation of the policy which had been pursued by Brazil as illiberal and exclusive made a deep impression upon prominent Brazilians. Gonçalves Dias, the great Brazilian poet, wrote to the publicist Tavares Bastos about the North American champion of the opening of the Amazon declaring that, "Maury, an author offensive to Brazil and likewise hated by many of our illustrious men as an advocate of the unbridled

⁸⁵ Maury, *Free Navigation of the Amazon*, pp. 1, 2.

⁸⁶ Maury, *The Amazon and the Atlantic Slopes of South America*, p. 6.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 63. See further Martin, "The Influence of the United States on the Opening of the Amazon to the World's Commerce," in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 1, pp. 151, 152.

ambitions of the Americans, ought to be designated as one of the benefactors of the Amazons."⁸⁹ The propaganda in Brazil in favor of the freedom of fluvial navigation grew in strength. At last, on December 7, 1867—sixteen years after the significant treaty had been framed between Peru and the United States—Antonio Coelho de Sa e Albuquerque, the Brazilian minister of foreign affairs, published a decree announcing that the navigation of the Amazon was to be open to the merchant vessels of all nations after September 7, 1867. This decree declared that the Amazon River was to be open to the frontier of Brazil, that the river Tocantins was to be open to Cametá; the Tapajoz to Santarem; the Madeira to Borba; the Negro to Manáos, and the São Francisco to Penedo.⁹⁰ By a supplementary decree of July 31, 1867, the Brazilian Government announced that the main channel of the Amazon River would be open to navigation as far as Tabatinga.⁹¹ In a decree dated December 17, 1868, the Government of Peru declared that, as the action of Brazil had removed the only obstacle which obstructed the navigation of the Amazon, it accordingly proclaimed that the navigation of all the rivers of the republic was open to merchant vessels of all nations.⁹²

Certain Brazilian writers have not hesitated to point out that the policy of the free navigation of the Amazon River which was ultimately adopted by their government was partly due to the influence of the United States. The Brazilian historian Joaquim Nabuco said: "After the publication in the *Correio mercantil* of Maury's memorial, . . . and of his description of the Amazon region which had been locked up from the world by a policy more exclusive than Japan's or Dr. Francia's the cause of the freedom of navigation was triumphant."⁹³ Still the extravagant notions which Lieutenant Maury entertained about the significance of the opening of the Amazon to the commerce of the United States have not yet been realized.

⁸⁹ Nabuco, *Um estadista do imperio*, vol. III, p. 13, n.

⁹⁰ *Collecção das leis do Brasil*, 1866, pt. II, pp. 362, 363.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 1867, pt. II, p. 270.

⁹² Aranda, vol. II, pp. 549, 550.

⁹³ Nabuco, vol. III, p. 12, n.

Before 1850 the United States had a comparatively large share in the foreign commerce of Hispanic-American countries; but in the succeeding quarter century her export trade with those countries relatively declined somewhat. This change was partly because of the increasing competition from certain European countries and partly because of the disturbance in the foreign commerce of the United States due to the Civil War. The imports from Hispanic-American nations to the United States during that period increased considerably. But as the importation of wool from Argentina and other South American countries to the United States was checked or prohibited by tariff duties imposed by her in 1864 and 1867, in 1869 the Argentine minister to the United States initiated a propaganda for the removal of the duties on hides and wool.⁹⁴ Of the enormous quantity of coffee imported into the United States from Brazil, amounting in 1875 to over two hundred and twenty-nine million pounds,⁹⁵ an increasing quota entered the port of New York,⁹⁶ a tendency which soon became marked in other imports from South America. On the Pacific shores of North America —partly because of the opening of the Panamá Railroad—San Francisco became an emporium of trade with Central America; that city also began to participate in the direct trade with Chile.⁹⁷ Six United States vessels evidently entered San Francisco from Chile in 1872, while in that year an equal number of United States vessels left San Francisco for Chilean ports.⁹⁸ Peru began to figure as an exporter of sugar to the United States.⁹⁹ In 1875 Colombia exported to the United States over one million pounds of cocoa besides five million pounds of coffee.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ *Memoria presentada por el ministro secretario de estado en el departamento de relaciones exteriores al congreso legislativo*, 1870, p. 106.

⁹⁵ *Commerce and Navigation of the United States*, 1875, p. 59.

⁹⁶ Rutter, p. 35.

⁹⁷ *Commerce and Navigation of the United States*, 1875, p. 8.

⁹⁸ *Memoria del ministro de relaciones exteriores presentada al congreso nacional*, 1873, pp. 533, 588.

⁹⁹ *Commerce and Navigation of the United States*, 1875, p. 92.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 59.

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS IN THE
YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1875¹⁰¹

Country	Imports into the United States			Exports from the United States		
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Argentina . .	\$4,468,989	\$1,365,720	\$5,834,709	\$1,301,294	\$138,324	\$1,439,618
Brazil	39,255,527	2,772,336	42,027,863	7,631,865	110,494	7,742,359
Central America .	2,220,108	215,043	2,435,151	734,374	49,858	784,232
Chile	115,872	673,370	789,242	2,061,990	12,776	2,074,766
Colombia . .	11,925,229	358,834	12,284,063	4,206,618	226,349	4,432,967
Dominican Republic . .	101,263	191,124	292,387	479,425	28,652	508,077
Mexico	3,863,302	1,311,292	5,174,594	3,872,004	1,865,278	5,737,282
Peru	1,234,708	56,527	1,291,235	2,443,657	37,284	2,480,941
Uruguay . .	2,776,178	158,861	2,935,039	1,440,665	68,273	1,508,938
Venezuela . .	5,171,794	55,781	5,227,576	1,879,654	39,075	1,918,729
Total	\$71,132,970	\$7,158,888	\$78,291,858	\$26,051,546	\$2,576,363	\$28,627,909

During the period between 1875 and 1900 some changes took place in the commercial relations between the United States and the Hispanic-American nations. Independent Cuba entered the lists. Relatively, the export trade of the United States with certain of those nations declined. "In 1868 our sales to the countries lying south of us were but 20 per cent of our total exports; in 1878, a little less than 10 per cent; in 1888, a fraction above 10 per cent; and in 1898, but 7 per cent of our total exports."¹⁰² That decline had taken place in spite of the increased trade with Mexico which was largely due to the opening of railway communications. Although the United States enjoyed a good share of Mexico's commerce and a fair share of the Caribbean trade, yet her exports to the countries beyond the Caribbean Sea were becoming less and less satisfactory. This was the tendency despite the fact that the United States made large imports from South American countries bordering upon

¹⁰¹ Compiled from *American Commerce*, pp. 3280-3329.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 3163.

the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Despite large purchases of coffee and rubber from Brazil by the United States and of sugars, spices, fruits, woods, and chemicals from other countries of South America,—purchases which in 1897 amounted to \$88,408,119—in that year her sales to those countries were less than one-third of the amount of her purchases from them: "In 1898, in spite of the fact that to the whole world our sales were double the amount of our purchases, those to the South American countries beyond the Caribbean Sea were still but about one-third of our purchases from them."¹⁰³

In her trade with South American countries there was a large annual balance against the United States. An examination of the annual statistics of the commerce of the United States with the nations in the South during the period from 1850 to 1899 would scarcely alter the general conclusion that imports from South America into the United States had grown "enormously," while the gain in exports to that continent had been "comparatively small."¹⁰⁴ The only considerable exception to this generalization was Argentina; for domestic exports from the United States to that country increased in value almost three million dollars from 1890 to 1900.¹⁰⁵ There was a growing conviction that the United States was losing in the competition for the markets of South America.

A more detailed knowledge of the import and export trade of the United States with the Hispanic-American nations just before the War between the United States and Spain will be derived from the table on page 212.

This table shows the general character of the commerce of the Hispanic-American states in 1897—just before the United States intervened in Cuba. It will be seen that the chief imports of those countries were manufactured goods, while their exports were largely composed of raw materials. As is demonstrated in an extreme fashion by the statistics of the commerce of two South American neighbors, Bolivia and Brazil, the share of the United States in the trade of the different His-

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 3164.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 3175, 3219.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3301; *Analysis of the Foreign Commerce of the United States*, p. 91.

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS OF THE PRINCIPAL Hispanic-American States in 1897¹⁰⁸

Country	Exports			Imports		
	Total	Per cent to United States	Principal exports	Total	Per cent from United States	Principal imports
Argentina	\$97,638,374	13.08	Wheat, flour, frozen meats, hides, wood, timber.	\$94,848,835	6.73	Cotton and woolen goods, iron and steel, manufactures, mineral oils, furniture.
Bolivia.	10,939,506	.....	Silver, tin, copper, rubber, coffee, coca, cinchona.	11,597,405	.04	Provisions, hardware, wines and spirits, cottons, woolens.
Brazil.	130,139,698	53.03	Coffee, rubber, tobacco, hides, cacao, sugar.	104,959,017	11.85	Provisions, cottons, drugs, patent medicines, coal, machinery, furniture.
Central American states	28,174,270	36.72	Coffee, bananas, cabinet and dye woods, chemicals, rubber.	22,277,464	32.03	Cotton, iron manufactures, woolens, worsteds, machinery, flour.
Chile.	23,655,259	16.46	Nitrate, iodine, silver, copper, wheat, hides, leather.	23,808,504	10.88	Sugar, coal, cotton goods, woolens, iron and steel, kerosene.
Colombia.	15,038,406	35.62	Coffee, cacao, silver, ore, raw cotton, dry woods, hides, rubber, tobacco.	11,528,365	33.35	Breadstuffs, provisions, manufactures of iron and steel, furniture, cotton goods.
Ecuador.	4,035,480	14.09	Coffee, cocoa, rubber, hides, Panama hats.	6,972,394	10.68	Cotton goods, woolens, manufactures of iron and steel, kerosene.
Mexico.	59,089,519	73.64	Silver, coffee, hennequin, gold, wood, cattle, hides, tobacco.	43,603,492	49.29	Cottons, linens, woolens, iron manufactures, machinery.
Paraguay.	5,679,651	.....	Paraguayan tea, rubber, coffee, hides.	2,203,459	.03	Machinery, cotton goods, clothing, mineral oils.
Peru.	14,706,031	7.75	Sugar, wool, rubber, cocoa, cocaine, silver, copper.	8,533,919	13.39	Cotton goods, woolens, manufactures of iron and steel, machinery, kerosene.
Uruguay.	30,316,438	11.60	Hides, wool, provisions, cotton, breadstuffs.	20,175,631	6.01	Manufactures of iron and steel, cotton and woolen goods, furniture.
Venezuela.	21,510,842	46.60	Coffee, cocoa, hides, chemicals, dye woods, cabinet woods.	13,241,000	26.95	Provisions, dry goods, hardware, coal, kerosene, machinery.
Total.	\$440,993,474			\$364,050,485		

¹⁰⁸ Adapted from *American Commerce*, pp. 3218, 3221.

panic-American countries varied greatly. The following table shows the condition of the export and import trade of the United States with the chief Hispanic-American countries at the close of the nineteenth century:

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS IN THE
YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1900¹⁰⁷

Country	Imports into the United States			Exports from the United States		
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Argentina	\$2,010,864	\$6,103,440	\$8,114,304	\$11,263,322	\$294,915	\$11,558,237
Bolivia . . . . .	.....	.....	.....	59,223	.....	59,223
Brazil	55,204,311	2,869,146	58,073,457	11,481,094	97,025	11,578,119
Chile	6,845,326	267,500	7,112,826	3,282,761	4,804	3,287,565
Colombia	3,723,735	584,079	4,307,814	2,668,289	42,399	2,710,688
Costa Rica	2,902,816	77,214	2,980,030	1,412,012	50,343	1,462,355
Cuba	1,854,373	29,517,331	31,371,704	25,236,808	1,276,592	26,513,400
Dominican Republic	272,363	5,408,050	3,680,413	1,237,135	79,963	1,317,098
Ecuador	1,397,356	127,022	1,524,378	1,215,064	944	1,216,008
Guatemala	2,239,672	163,306	2,402,978	764,642	20,820	785,462
Honduras	925,937	62,669	988,606	1,134,398	47,055	1,181,453
Mexico	23,298,046	5,348,007	28,646,053	33,703,996	1,270,965	34,974,961
Nicaragua	1,368,919	151,347	1,520,266	1,806,995	210,874	1,817,869
Paraguay . . . . .	.....	.....	.....	4,884	.....	4,884
Peru	635,268	1,487,275	2,122,543	1,658,060	4,415	1,662,475
Salvador	672,924	65,750	738,674	673,273	6,167	679,440
Uruguay	321,308	1,526,769	1,848,077	1,745,705	71,015	1,816,720
Venezuela	4,367,673	1,132,346	5,500,019	2,401,910	50,847	2,452,757
Total	\$108,040,891	\$52,891,251	\$160,932,142	\$101,549,571	\$3,529,143	\$105,078,714

Although the last years of the nineteenth century were even marked by a decline in the value of exports from the United States to Brazil, yet there was another side to the shield. During the latter part of that century increased attention was paid in the United States to the study of South American markets. On June 5, 1878, in a speech in Congress, James G. Blaine argued in favor of subsidizing United States merchant ships which were engaged in trade with South America.¹⁰⁸ A government commission was dispatched on a tour of Mexico, Central America, and South America in 1884 for the purpose of studying the best means to promote the commerce of the United States with those

¹⁰⁷ Compiled from *Analysis of the Foreign Commerce of the United States, passim.*

¹⁰⁸ *Congressional Record*, vol. vii, pt. v, pp. 4133-35.

regions. When he returned from that trip W. E. Curtis, secretary of the commission, published a suggestive report on *Trade and Transportation between the United States and Spanish America*. In that treatise Curtis maintained that the chief reasons why the trade of the United States with Hispanic-American countries was not developing satisfactorily were the lack of facilities "for rapid and regular communication and transportation" and the control of steamship lines between the United States and South America by foreign capital. Like Blaine, Curtis advocated government subsidies to United States steamships.¹⁰⁹ With increasing frequency articles appeared in periodicals of the United States about South American trade and an occasional mention was made of reciprocity.

The earliest attempt by the United States to adopt a policy of reciprocity with a Hispanic-American nation was directed toward Mexico. A reciprocity convention was negotiated between the United States and Mexico in 1883; but, as the Congress of the United States repeatedly refused to enact the laws necessary for its execution, that treaty never became operative.¹¹⁰ Not until Blaine became secretary of state under President Harrison was reciprocity applied to Hispanic America. Possibly in part because of Blaine's influence a majority of the committee on an American zollverein at the Pan-American Conference which assembled at Washington in the autumn of 1889 recommended that reciprocity in America should be approached gradually by the negotiation of "partial reciprocity treaties among the American nations."¹¹¹ Delegates from Argentina suggested to the United States delegation that a reciprocity treaty between those two nations should be negotiated.¹¹² The attitude of such delegates toward reciprocity evidently stimulated Blaine to undertake a propaganda to promote congressional action in favor of that policy.

Secretary Blaine's campaign for the expansion of the trade of

¹⁰⁹ Curtis, *Trade and Transportation between the United States and Spanish America*, p. 24.

¹¹⁰ *Senate Executive Journal*, vol. xxiv, pp. 210, 211; *ibid.*, vol. xxv, pp. 687, 688.

¹¹¹ *International American Conference*, vol. I, pp. 104, 105.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 197, 226.

the United States through reciprocity with countries where she could make profitable exchanges affected the pending tariff act. That bill proposed to put sugar on the free list without any reciprocal concessions, while some legislators even contemplated taking hides from the free list. To Congressman McKinley, the father of the bill, Blaine wrote that to lay a duty on hides would be "a slap in the face to the South Americans with whom we are trying to enlarge our trade. It will benefit the farmer by adding five to eight per cent to the price of his children's shoes."¹¹³ Soon afterwards the secretary made a dramatic speech in the senate committee rooms upon the same theme.¹¹⁴ In a letter to President Harrison, which the latter submitted to Congress, Blaine said that more than eighty-seven per cent of the goods sent to the United States from Hispanic-American countries paid no duties, and that the removal of the import duty on sugar would practically give those countries free trade with the United States while leaving large duties upon United States exports to them.¹¹⁵ Writing to a senator Blaine said of the tariff measure, "there is not a section or a line in the entire bill that will open a market for another bushel of wheat or another barrel of pork."¹¹⁶ The upshot of Blaine's propaganda for reciprocity was Section III of the McKinley Tariff Act.

This section of the tariff law empowered the President, with a view to a reciprocal trade with countries producing and exporting sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides, or any of such articles, on and after January 1, 1892, to suspend by proclamation the provisions of that act relating to the free introduction of such articles into the United States, whenever, in the President's judgment, the duties or other exactions imposed upon the agricultural or other products of the United States by the nations exporting the enumerated articles were deemed to be "reciprocally unjust or unequal." Not in the form which Blaine desired, this was an unusual method of reciprocity that was retaliatory in character, for the enumerated articles were already free of duty. Tea, coffee, and hides had been placed upon the free list

¹¹³ Hamilton, *Biography of James G. Blaine*, p. 683.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 685.

¹¹⁵ *Congressional Record*, vol. xxi, pt. vii, p. 6257.

¹¹⁶ Hamilton, *Biography of James G. Blaine*, p. 686.

twenty years before, and, early in the session of 1890, Congress had decided to add sugar to that list.¹¹⁷ As the McKinley Act granted the President power to reimpose certain duties upon countries which failed to grant concessions to the United States, it virtually vested him with power to make commercial arrangements—which partook of the character of treaties—without the advice and consent of the Senate. That reciprocal provision was to an extent the result of a reaction against an extreme protective tariff. The *Philadelphia Press* said that the “lessons of the Pan-American Conference” had been “learned by 64,000,000 of Americans.”¹¹⁸

The McKinley Tariff Bill became a law on October 1, 1890. A short time afterwards, through J. W. Foster, Secretary Blaine initiated negotiations with Salvador de Mendonça, the minister of Brazil at Washington, for a reciprocity arrangement with that country. Minister Mendonça evidently realized that it was to Brazil’s advantage that an understanding should be reached in order that duties upon Brazilian sugar, coffee, and hides, should not be reimposed by the United States. Reciprocity negotiations were carried on from October 26 to November 3 at Mendonça’s residence.¹¹⁹ In response to a letter from Blaine, on January 31, 1891, Mendonça declared that Brazil was animated by a desire to improve the friendly relations existing between her and the United States and “to establish the commercial intercourse of the two countries upon a basis of equality and reciprocity.” As authorized by his government, the minister accompanied his reply with a schedule of articles which would be admitted into Brazil free of duty, if produced or manufactured in the United States.¹²⁰ Upon the same day, by the direction of the President, Blaine accepted the proffer.¹²¹

This agreement provided that Brazil should admit into her ports free of duties certain products of the United States which had been previously taxed from five to twenty-five per cent, and that she should reduce the duties upon other specified articles

¹¹⁷ *Statutes at Large of the United States*, vol. xxvi, p. 612.

¹¹⁸ *The Philadelphia Press*, September 16, 1890, as quoted in *Public Opinion*, vol. ix, p. 544.

¹¹⁹ *Relatório do ministro das relações exteriores*, 1891, annexo 1, pp. 24-33.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-10.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 15.

twenty-five per cent. Those concessions were made without any reduction in the duties upon Brazilian products imported into the United States, for they were already practically free. That reciprocity arrangement, proclaimed on February 5, 1891, was to go into effect on April 1 of that year for an indefinite period. In a dispatch to the Brazilian minister of foreign relations Mendonça pointed out the advantages that would accrue to Brazil. Although she would lose the revenues from import duties upon certain articles from the United States, yet she would secure for her products, especially sugar, the best market in the world. A nation of sixteen million inhabitants would furnish supplies to a nation of sixty-three millions. The products which Brazil would export to the United States were of a monopolistic character, while numerous articles imported into Brazil from that country were manufactured goods in which there was competition.¹²²

Secretary Blaine also aimed to establish reciprocity with Argentina. In conferences with the minister from Argentina Blaine stated that, by virtue of the McKinley Act raw hides from Argentina would be admitted into the United States free of duty upon the condition that tanned hides, leather, and shoes from his country should be admitted free into Argentine ports. Minister Quesada asked if Argentine wools would not be admitted free. Blaine responded in the negative, declaring that the United States did not need those wools. Whereupon Quesada declared that the proposed reciprocity was limited to one product of his country. He stated that white pine lumber from the United States paid low duties in Argentina and intimated that, if the United States Government imposed differential duties upon hides, his government might feel obliged to impose duties upon white pine. He asserted that Argentina needed her "import duties more than ever before"; and Blaine responded by stating that his government did not wish to place the Argentine Government in fiscal embarrassments.¹²³ Although reciprocity negotiations subsequently took place at Buenos Aires

¹²² *Relatório do ministro das relações exteriores*, 1891, anexo 1, p. 32.

¹²³ *Memoria presentada por el ministro secretario de estado en el departamento de relaciones exteriores al congreso legislativo*, 1891, p. 210.

between the United States minister and the Argentine secretary of foreign relations without results,¹²⁴ yet the Government of the United States did not take any retaliatory measures against Argentina.

Nevertheless reciprocity agreements with other countries soon followed that with Brazil. On August 1, 1891, an arrangement with the Spanish Government on behalf of Cuba and Porto Rico was proclaimed. Upon the same day a similar reciprocal agreement was proclaimed for the Dominican Republic as the result of negotiations carried on at Washington between Foster and a Dominican commissioner. Before June 4, 1892, when Blaine resigned from Harrison's cabinet, reciprocity agreements—which resembled that made with Brazil—had also been negotiated and proclaimed with Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Guatemala.¹²⁵ The velvet glove of the McKinley reciprocity clause was sometimes withdrawn from an iron hand. On March 15, 1892, in accordance with a notice previously served on their diplomatic representatives at Washington, the President issued proclamations announcing that the free introduction of the specified articles from Colombia, Haiti, and Venezuela was suspended, and that duties were imposed upon those articles, in conformity with Section III of the McKinley Act, because the respective duties imposed by those nations upon imports from the United States were reciprocally unequal.¹²⁶

The reciprocity agreements which in accordance with that act had been successively negotiated with Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Guatemala were all abruptly terminated by the Wilson Tariff Act of 1894. Those agreements made under Blaine's auspices constitute the only attempt which has yet been made to practice commercial reciprocity between the United States and the family of Hispanic-American nations. The results of that policy deserve brief

¹²⁴ *Memoria presentada por el ministro secretario de estado*, 1891, especially pp. 391-404, 431-37; Zeballos, *La concurrencia universal y la agricultura en ambas Américas*, pp. 22, 23.

¹²⁵ Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, vol. ix, p. 312.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 265-70.

notice. With respect to imports into the United States from Hispanic-American nations which had reciprocity agreements with her, it appears that, excepting Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Brazil, those importations actually decreased in value. Although both sugar and molasses were admitted into the United States free of duty, the imports declined except in the case of sugar from Cuba. In general, as compared with the period from 1886–1890, imports into the United States from the countries with which she had reciprocity arrangements rose slightly. It should be noticed, however, that during the period from 1890 to 1894 the commerce of the United States with American countries with which she had no reciprocity arrangements decreased. As regards exports from the United States to the Hispanic-American countries under reciprocity, the only significant increase was in the trade with Cuba which almost doubled—a result hardly within the purview of this treatise. The truth of the matter seems to be that the reciprocity policy inaugurated by the McKinley Act was too short lived to deflect greatly the currents of trade in favor of the United States, while the retaliatory features of that act were scarcely calculated to produce good results upon the publicists of Hispanic America.

Another experiment at reciprocity between the United States and Hispanic America was more successful. After the liberation of Cuba from Spanish rule, a commercial treaty was negotiated between that country and the United States which was proclaimed on December 17, 1903. The treaty provided that dutiable Cuban products should be admitted into the ports of the United States at a reduction of twenty per cent of the tariff rates. Thus Cuban sugar was permitted to enter the United States at twenty per cent of the existing rates, or at 1.35 cents per pound, a reduction of .34 cent per pound as against other sugars. In return Cuba agreed to admit certain enumerated products of the United States at reductions of from twenty-five to forty per cent of the tariff rates, and all other dutiable articles at a reduction of twenty per cent. This treaty also provided that while it was in force the mutual concessions which it granted

should not be extended to any other nation.¹²⁷ The concession to Cuban sugar, which insured a market in the United States, was followed by a large increase in the sugar trade between Cuba and the United States. Imports into the United States from Cuba increased from \$49,499,000 in 1902 to \$96,525,000 in 1905, while during the same period exports from the United States to Cuba rose from \$26,023,000 to \$43,627,000.¹²⁸ The following table furnishes statistics of the commerce of Cuba as well as other Hispanic-American countries with the United States in 1914:

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS IN THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1914¹²⁹

Country	Imports into the United States			Exports from the United States		
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Argentina . . .	\$43,655,906	\$1,468,082	\$45,123,988	\$45,053,874	\$125,215	\$45,179,089
Bolivia.....	2	68	70	1,143,792	1,763	1,145,555
Brazil.....	100,161,510	1,167,563	101,329,073	29,843,018	120,896	29,963,914
Chile.....	25,184,940	537,188	25,722,128	17,408,724	23,668	17,432,392
Colombia . . .	14,641,503	1,409,617	16,051,120	6,690,109	96,044	6,786,153
Costa Rica ..	3,565,628	4,736	3,570,364	3,450,938	50,448	3,501,386
Cuba.....	7,887,324	123,416,470	131,303,794	67,798,245	1,086,183	68,884,428
Dominican Republic ..	3,700,755	176,079	3,876,834	4,862,843	54,358	4,917,201
Ecuador . . .	3,262,950	332,506	3,595,456	2,951,038	16,721	2,967,759
Guatemala . .	4,038,215	40,397	4,078,612	3,579,988	21,825	3,601,813
Honduras . . .	3,108,689	21,639	3,130,328	4,779,890	93,532	4,873,512
Mexico	83,770,616	8,919,950	92,690,566	37,080,868	1,667,925	38,748,793
Nicaragua . . .	1,385,331	9,917	1,395,248	2,563,071	65,963	2,629,034
Panamá	4,480,257	29,482	4,509,719	22,440,472	237,762	22,678,234
Paraguay . . .	63,531	1,120	64,651	172,712	479	173,191
Peru.....	11,502,486	673,237	12,175,723	7,115,514	25,738	7,141,252
Salvador . . .	1,141,446	16,874	1,158,320	2,111,220	43,918	2,155,138
Uruguay . . .	7,672,179	42,965	7,715,144	5,636,176	5,090	5,641,266
Venezuela . . .	9,480,242	282,827	9,763,069	5,351,877	49,509	5,401,386
Total.....	\$328,703,510	\$138,550,697	\$467,254,207	\$270,034,459	\$3,787,037	\$273,821,496

Although the last table furnishes the statistics of a shorter period than any other table presented in this chapter, yet it

¹²⁷ Malloy, *Treaties*, vol. I, pp. 353-56. See further Atkins, "Tariff Relations with Cuba—Actual and Desirable," in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. XXXII, pp. 59-62.

¹²⁸ *Commercial America* in 1907, pp. 75, 76.

¹²⁹ Compiled from *Trade of the United States with other American Countries, 1913-1914, passim*.

shows a marked general increase in the trade between the United States and the Hispanic-American nations as compared with 1900. Imports into the United States from the Hispanic-American republics had increased between 1900 and 1914 from \$160,932,142 to \$467,254,207. Particularly noticeable was the increase in imported goods from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Colombia, and Venezuela. The imports from Argentina had risen from \$8,114,304 in 1900 to \$45,123,988 in 1914. Especially noteworthy was the increase in exports from the United States to the Hispanic-American countries from \$105,078,714 to \$273,821,496: in the export trade Argentine commerce was most marked; as it had increased from \$11,558,237 in 1900 to \$45,179,089 in 1914. With the states of Central America the import and export trade of the United States had increased so markedly that, on the eve of the World War, the United States had a larger share in this commerce than either Great Britain or Germany.¹³⁰ To Chile the United States was a large exporter, surpassed only by Great Britain and Germany; while she was the second largest importer from Chile, following Great Britain and preceding Germany.¹³¹ Two new factors helped to swell United States commerce: the development of a thriving trade with Cuba due largely to the reciprocity treaty; and the growth of an amazing trade with the republic of Panamá.

The question is often asked: why has not the commerce of the United States with her Hispanic-American neighbors increased more rapidly? Hence we shall notice briefly certain conditions which have retarded that development. One of the most important conditions has been the failure, until recent years, on the part of entrepreneurs of industry in the United States to realize that especially in South America commerce tends to follow investments. Another condition, in the opinion of the writer, is the fact that until comparatively recent years manufacturers and merchants of the United States have often been satisfied with the home markets. At least, they did not

¹³⁰ See tables in Munro, *The Five Republics of Central America*, pp. 266, 268, 275, 277, 278.

¹³¹ See tables in Rowe, *The Early Effects of the European War upon the Finance, Commerce, and Industry of Chile*, p. 43.

ordinarily feel inclined to adapt their methods of doing business and their products to the Hispanic Americans.

The languages were obstacles that seemed insurmountable. It was generally impossible for a merchant in the United States to carry on a correspondence with Hispanic Americans in the English language. Spanish and Portuguese had to be mastered, at least by the merchant's clerks. When those obstacles were overcome the United States merchant often learned that to win and hold customers in Spanish-American countries he ought to replace a brusque business manner by a courteous and polite demeanor akin to the Castilian. He was made to realize that the United States did not possess a merchant marine; he occasionally found that adequate shipping facilities scarcely existed; or, perhaps, that when his goods had been safely landed in a port of Hispanic America they must be in shape for transportation upon mule back into the interior of the country. The New York merchant discovered that, as the greater portion of governmental revenues in Hispanic-American countries was raised by customs duties, he must, if he wished to direct his exportations personally, conform to the provisions of intricate and changing tariff systems. In time, if not at once, United States manufacturers found out that the Hispanic-American customer had definite notions and traditions concerning his own needs and that his ideas did not always conform to those of customers in the United States. Manufacturers and merchants in the United States soon realized that they encountered in South America spirited, and, occasionally, unscrupulous competition from European merchants and exporters. Some of them keenly felt that the Sherman Anti-Trust Act prevented them from competing in Hispanic America upon equal terms with the ruthless "kartels" of Germany. To their surprise they learned that, aided by branches of Imperial banks, German firms had followed the custom of granting long terms of credit to their customers under the Southern Cross. Citizens of the United States who traded with Brazil or Spanish America learned that there were in force in various Hispanic-American countries strange systems of commercial law based upon codes with which

foreigners, if they wished to obey the law of contracts, would have to conform. They sometimes learned to their cost that no machinery existed for the amicable and just settlement of disputes with customers in Hispanic America.

The opening of the Panamá Canal to the traffic of the world on August 15, 1914, promoted the growth of commerce between the United States and certain Hispanic-American states to an extent that can not be measured exactly. For its opening, which shortened the routes of sea traffic from the Atlantic seaboard of the United States to the Pacific shores of South America by many hundreds of miles, occurred just after the outbreak of the war between the Central Powers and other nations of Europe.

The World War had considerable influence upon the currents of international trade. That war threw German merchants out of the competition for the markets of Hispanic-American countries, except where they held large quantities of manufactures in warehouses. It crippled, handicapped, or destroyed the trade of Belgium, France, and England with Hispanic America. The World War, which exposed South American commerce to German raiders and submarines and deprived many Hispanic-American enterprises of European fountains of capital, had, for a time, a very depressing effect upon economic and financial conditions in Hispanic America. The tables on pages 224 and 225 show the trade between the United States and the Hispanic-American countries during the fiscal years 1913 and 1915: the first year of the war, and the year before the war which, from the standpoint of exports, may be called the banner year of Hispanic-American trade.

These tables show that the outbreak of the World War was followed by a marked increase in the import trade of the United States with Hispanic-American countries. It was also followed by a sharp decline in the total of imports into those countries from the United States. Still statistics show that during 1915 and 1916 certain of those countries took a much larger percentage of imports from the United States than they had taken in 1913. In those years many an important country of South America

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS IN
THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1913¹²²

Country	Imports into the United States			Exports from the United States		
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Argentina	\$18,562,978	\$8,300,754	\$26,863,732	\$52,807,331	\$87,503	\$52,894,834
Bolivia	12	338	350	939,501	1,243	940,744
Brazil	120,027,140	128,715	120,155,855	42,542,424	96,043	42,638,467
Chile	27,458,211	197,209	27,655,420	16,064,969	11,794	16,076,763
Colombia	15,104,441	875,471	15,979,912	7,282,367	115,329	7,397,696
Costa Rica	3,092,878	5,857	3,098,735	3,434,753	80,155	3,514,908
Cuba	4,358,290	121,729,883	126,088,173	69,605,532	975,622	70,581,154
Dominican Republic	3,599,642	129,132	3,728,774	5,750,989	51,778	5,802,767
Ecuador	2,918,929	118,760	3,037,689	2,550,897	2,888	2,553,785
Guateimala	3,021,657	85,324	3,106,981	3,620,898	37,689	3,658,587
Honduras	3,195,143	5,448	3,200,591	3,113,801	54,961	3,168,762
Mexico	63,922,151	13,621,691	77,543,842	52,952,421	1,431,003	54,388,424
Nicaragua	1,433,933	4,006	1,437,939	2,756,583	169,224	2,925,807
Panamá	4,186,908	47,102	4,234,010	24,464,748	97,499	24,562,247
Paraguay	58,243	42	58,285	187,867	.....	187,867
Peru	8,895,360	768,219	9,666,579	7,825,455	16,448	7,341,903
Salvador	1,370,972	596	1,371,568	2,302,705	87,266	2,389,971
Uruguay	1,705,257	745,440	2,450,697	7,514,009	8,136	7,522,145
Venezuela	10,223,915	628,416	10,852,331	5,681,727	55,391	5,737,118
Total	\$293,139,060	\$147,392,403	\$440,531,463	\$310,898,977	\$3,379,972	\$314,278,949

purchased more manufactured goods in the United States and sent a larger share of her exports to that country. Evidently presenting statistics for the calendar year, E. P. Austin said:

Imports from that continent in 1916 were nearly 100 per cent in excess of those of 1914, while exports to that continent showed a gain of 140 per cent in the two-year period, 1914-1916. Even comparing 1916 with the banner year of South American trade, 1913, our imports therefrom show an increase of over 100 per cent, and the exports an increase of over 50 per cent. A comparison of our own figures of exports to South America with the import figures of the countries forming that continent indicates that we are now supplying about 33 per cent of the total imports against about 15 per cent in the year prior to the war.¹²³

¹²² Compiled from *Trade of the United States with Other American Countries, 1913-1914*, pp. 20-143.

¹²³ Austin, "Trade between the United States and South America," in *The Americas*, vol. III, no. 7, p. 38. For statistics of the commerce of the United States with Hispanic-American states during the fiscal year 1916, see Table XV, Appendix p. 428, *infra*.

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS IN
THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1915¹²⁴

Country	Imports into the United States			Exports from the United States		
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Argentina	\$73,776,258	\$32,167,859	\$381,747	\$32,549,606		
Bolivia	290	543,316	7,284	550,600		
Brazil	99,178,728	25,120,158	509,397	25,629,555		
Chile	27,689,780	11,243,876	183,305	11,377,181		
Colombia	18,953,023	6,415,327	260,237	6,675,564		
Costa Rica	3,545,187	2,351,005	62,313	2,413,318		
Cuba	185,706,901	73,988,794	1,541,588	75,530,382		
Dominican Republic	9,826,397	5,248,536	431,763	5,680,299		
Ecuador	4,478,757	2,767,305	78,608	2,845,913		
Guatemala	6,558,546	2,729,999	39,271	2,769,270		
Honduras	2,593,524	4,907,414	97,029	5,004,443		
Mexico	77,612,691	32,219,923	1,944,524	34,164,447		
Nicaragua	2,201,910	1,927,022	115,656	2,087,678		
Panamá	4,388,136	18,837,025	372,028	19,209,053		
Paraguay	28,126	40,158	47	40,205		
Peru	12,596,648	5,825,478	47,996	5,873,474		
Salvador	1,947,382	2,069,092	32,874	2,101,966		
Uruguay	10,492,649	5,065,094	106,229	5,171,323		
Venezuela	13,227,238	5,559,664	204,778	5,764,442		
Total	\$554,802,151	\$239,072,045	\$6,366,674	\$245,438,719		

Notice should be taken, however, that in many cases the apparent increase in imports into the United States or exports from the United States was partly due to the unusual advance in prices. The great bulk of the imports of South American countries remained manufactures: cotton goods, oils, agricultural implements, automobiles, railway cars, tin plate, iron, and steel products. It has been aptly said that the United States exports to Hispanic America everything, "from a wire nail to an automobile, from a lead pencil to a threshing machine or a complete sugar factory."¹²⁵ During a period when commercial conditions were abnormal, the imports of the United States from Hispanic-American countries increased most rapidly. The following table shows the trade between the United States and the Hispanic-American countries during the fiscal year 1917:

¹²⁴ Compiled from *Trade of the United States with the World, 1914-1915*, pp. 103-97.

¹²⁵ Austin, "Marketing United States Manufactures in Latin America," in *The Americas*, vol. IV, no. 5, p. 25.

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS IN
THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1917¹³⁶

Country	Imports into the United States			Exports from the United States		
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Argentina			\$152,612,411	\$81,939,982	\$435,183	\$82,375,165
Bolivia		44,161	2,871,879	53,651		2,925,530
Brazil		151,638,245	55,817,510	909,724		56,727,234
Chile		113,789,130	44,403,102	135,891		44,538,993
Colombia		28,965,920	14,667,256	254,313		14,921,569
Costa Rica		5,620,145	3,859,870	124,984		3,984,854
Cuba		253,395,410	174,885,578	3,406,150		178,291,728
Dominican Republic		14,892,299	13,359,473	434,952		13,794,425
Ecuador		10,667,783	5,916,682	120,079		6,038,741
Guatemala		10,057,330	5,338,073	50,204		5,386,277
Honduras		4,687,155	5,668,001	24,553		5,692,554
Mexico		112,138,677	77,336,643	1,667,954		79,004,597
Nicaragua		3,026,058	4,467,341	66,272		4,533,613
Panamá		7,585,331	28,357,194	171,013		28,528,207
Paraguay		66,003	227,065			227,065
Peru		36,379,016	18,674,057	154,827		18,828,884
Salvador		5,010,855	4,352,692	39,552		4,392,244
Uruguay		30,406,532	14,242,896	54,217		14,297,113
Venezuela		15,018,567	12,662,228	218,217		12,880,445
Total		\$956,001,028	\$569,045,502	\$8,321,736		\$577,367,238

This table shows that a tremendous increase took place in the trade of the United States with Hispanic-American countries during the fiscal year 1917. The total exports, which in 1916 had exceeded the figures for 1913, continued to swell greatly, while the imports almost repeated the phenomenal increase that had taken place in 1916. Further, this increase was noticeable in the import and export trade of the United States with almost every Hispanic-American country.¹³⁷ A conservative estimate would place the share which the United States enjoyed of the exports of Hispanic-American nations in 1917 at about fifty per cent, while her share of the imports of those countries somewhat exceeded that amount. This estimate assigned to England, her strongest competitor, about twenty per cent of Hispanic-American exports and fourteen per cent of those imports. While the

¹³⁶ Compiled from *Trade of the United States with the World, 1916 and 1917*, pt. I, *Imports*, pp. 57-84, and pt. II, *Exports*, pp. 96-228.

¹³⁷ For the commerce of the United States with the Hispanic-American countries in 1916, see Table XV, Appendix, p. 428, *infra*.

export trade of the United States with Hispanic-American countries had increased greatly during the years 1916 and 1917 the export trade of England and France with those countries had decreased.¹³⁸

To the writer it appears likely that the historian of the future may judge that the World War had a most significant influence upon commercial relations between the United States and the Hispanic-American countries not only because of the actual increase in the volume of trade but also because of certain changes which took place contemporaneously in the management of that trade. The outbreak of the war—with its unusual opportunity for expansion in South America—presumably made certain bankers in the United States more anxious to avail themselves of the Federal Reserve Act which permitted the establishment of branch national banks in Hispanic-American countries. This war was largely responsible for an increased interest in a United States merchant marine. Even while the war was in progress new steamship lines under the control of citizens of the United States were established between New York City and South American ports.¹³⁹

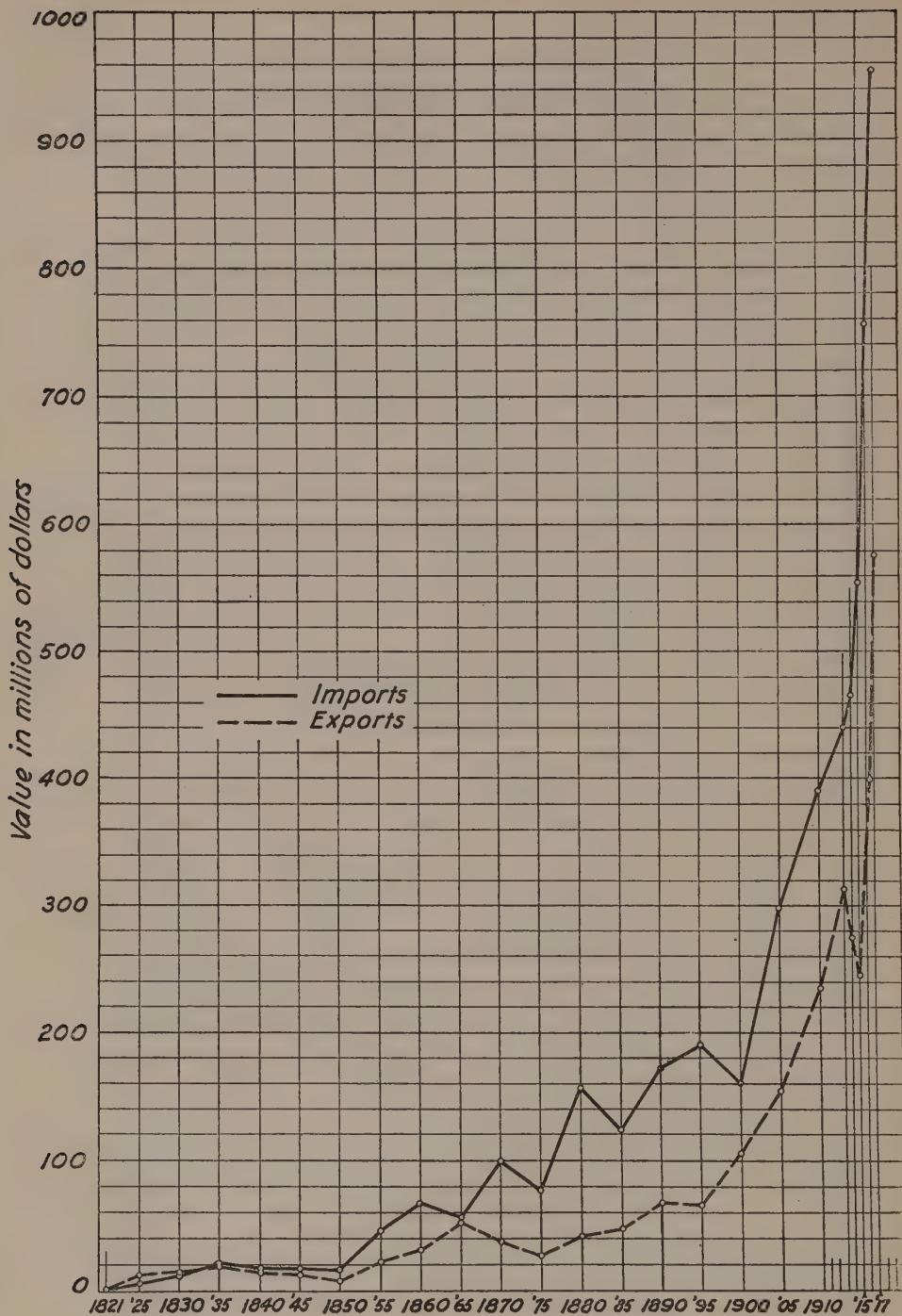
Another development which may promote better relations between merchants in the United States and merchants in South America has been an agreement between the American Chamber of Commerce and the *Bolsa de comercio* in Buenos Aires for the settlement of disputes between exporters and importers in both countries by arbitration.¹⁴⁰ The control of commerce between the United States and Hispanic-American countries through the War Trade Board established by President Wilson in accordance with the "Trading with the Enemy Act" of October 6, 1918, has evidently been exercised with due consideration to the encouragement of South American trade.¹⁴¹ In the stu-

¹³⁸ *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, vol. XLVIII, pp. 44, 45. For a comparison of Hispanic-American trade in 1913 and 1916, see *ibid.*, vol. XLVI, pp. 41, 46. Cf. Austin, "Marketing United States Manufactures in Latin America," *loc. cit.*, vol. IV, no. 5, p. 24. Statistics of the foreign trade of the Hispanic-American countries—which are sometimes merely estimates—are also conveniently found in Filsinger, *Trading with Latin America*, pp. 166, 167.

¹³⁹ On the Federal Reserve Act, see pp. 271–73, *infra*.

¹⁴⁰ Gil, "The American Exporter and the Argentine Market after the War," in *The Americas*, vol. V, no. 2, p. 27.

¹⁴¹ *The Americas*, vol. III, no. 11, p. 32; *ibid.*, vol. IV, no. 6, pp. 17, 18.



GRAPH SHOWING IMPORT AND EXPORT TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE
HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS, 1821-1917 (BASED ON STATISTICAL
TABLES IN THE TEXT AND APPENDIX).

pendous activities of the United States Shipping Board considerable attention has evidently been paid to the construction of steamers which will eventually be used to carry on the commerce with South American countries.¹⁴² Not of least importance was the enactment of a law on April 10, 1918, permitting persons, partnerships, or corporations in the United States to form associations in order to combine activities and make agreements about "export trade." By making it possible for two or more firms to form an export association or company to handle their foreign business this so-called "Webb Law" should place United States exporters and export associations more nearly upon an equality with their European competitors in South America.¹⁴³ Accordingly many developments appear destined to promote a more efficient organization of the foreign trade of the United States, a reformation which should greatly affect Hispanic-American countries.

An encouraging feature in the promotion of commercial relations between the United States and the nations of Hispanic America has been the increased attention paid to that foreign trade by the United States Government since the outbreak of the World War. A development toward the formation of geographical divisions within the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce was marked in 1916 by steps preliminary to the establishment of a "Latin-American Division." In 1917 that division was extended and enlarged. Daily commerce reports by that division mention opportunities for the exportation of specific articles and furnish the latest commercial information respecting Hispanic-American countries. Upon request the Division of Foreign Tariffs of the Department of Commerce will furnish information about the tariff upon any particular article for any of those states. That department also holds itself ready to furnish information on trade-marks, patents, copyrights, food laws, parcel post, sanitary regulations, invoices, and license fees for commercial travelers. The "Latin-American Division" has on file lists of

¹⁴² *Statutes at Large of the United States*, vol. XXXIX, pt. I, pp. 728-38; "Our Future Machinery for Building up Commerce," in *The Americas*, vol. IV, no. 10, p. 3.

¹⁴³ *Federal Statutes, Annotated Pamphlet Supplement*, June, 1918, no. 15, pp. 24, 27.

importers of special commodities and lists of firms in Hispanic-American states that might act as agents for exporters in the United States. A card index of importers in Hispanic-American states has been compiled. The latest published statistics of trade with those states is, like the rest of the information, available for United States exporters. Advice is furnished to commercial travelers in regard to expenses and itineraries.¹⁴⁴

At present the "Latin-American Division" is issuing weekly a useful "Latin-American Circular." On February 9, 1918, that division issued a circular dealing with "Quebracho," a South-American wood. Shortly afterwards it issued circulars entitled "Argentine Petroleum," "Latin-American Cacao," and "Vegetable Dyestuffs from Latin America."¹⁴⁵ In June, 1918, it released a circular containing a useful list of titles of articles connected with the automobile trade in Hispanic-American countries. These circulars were distributed through the district and cooperative offices of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in the larger commercial cities of the United States. Not only has the Government of the United States kept in touch with commercial conditions in Hispanic America through its diplomatic and consular officers, but from 1914 to 1918 the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce dispatched eighteen special agents to Hispanic-American countries. Detailed reports by those agents upon special features of Hispanic-American trade and commerce have been published or are in course of publication.¹⁴⁶ A list of "File Subjects" of the "Latin-American Division" compiled in August, 1918, included over two hundred subjects concerning diverse matters from zinc to adding machines.¹⁴⁷ The publications of the division contain a veritable mine of information upon topics of importance to those engaged in commerce with Hispanic-American countries.

¹⁴⁴ *Are You Interested in Latin-American Trade*, pp. 2-4.

¹⁴⁵ *Circular of Latin-American Division, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce*, nos. 31, 32, 33, 36.

¹⁴⁶ *Are You Interested in Latin-American Trade*, p. 4.

¹⁴⁷ *File Subjects of the Latin-American Division*. On methods of handling trade between the United States and the Hispanic-American countries, see especially Wilson, *South America as an Export Field*, pp. 10-15; Filsinger, pp. 53-56, 70-74.

As in other branches of the foreign trade of the United States the management of commerce with Hispanic-American countries has, in some particulars, become more complex. In the period of beginnings it was customary for a producer or a merchant in the United States to handle his exports himself. Although certain firms still send traveling agents to Hispanic-American countries, yet, with the development of United States commerce with those countries, the management of the trade has passed in large part into the hands of middlemen. Especially is this true of the handling of commerce proceeding from Hispanic-American countries. Some of those middlemen, whether located in important trade centers of South America or resident in United States ports, represent persons or concerns engaged in exporting from a particular section of Hispanic America.

A considerable part of the trade between the United States and the Hispanic-American states is carried on through commission men or agents. The most important export houses in the United States which are interested in those countries have their main offices in New York City, while other houses have their offices in Philadelphia, San Francisco, and New Orleans. Export houses sometimes maintain branches in important cities in South American countries and have correspondents in places where the amount of business does not warrant the maintenance of agents. They even send salesmen to travel through certain sections of South America in order to keep informed on trade conditions. These houses accordingly have a fund of information available for their clients upon such intricate matters as shipping documents, custom laws, drafts, and exchange in Hispanic-American countries. By grouping a number of small orders upon one bill of lading they may reduce the freight and other charges upon small shipments. Another mode of handling exports from the United States is through export agents or branch houses that represent several manufacturers producing allied or non-competing articles. Yet another method is where non-competing manufacturers employ a combination representative who undertakes to canvass orders for various articles. Only a big business can establish direct relations by placing a

branch house in the chief commercial centers of South America. Helpful to the development of the commercial relations of the United States with the Hispanic-American countries in recent years has been the appearance in that country of various brochures, technical handbooks, and guides devoted to one phase or another of such intercourse.

The close of the greatest war in history marks the end of an epoch in the life of all nations and the opening of a new era. During that war the commerce of the United States with the Hispanic-American nations—which since 1900 had been developing rapidly—reached its highest point: in 1917 the imports into the United States from Hispanic-American nations amounted to nine hundred and fifty-six million dollars, while her exports to those nations amounted to five hundred and seventy-seven millions. With the return of peace the manufacturers and merchants of the United States must face changed conditions due to the revival of European competition in Hispanic-American markets. To aid them in the strife for those markets, they have some favorable legislation, new machinery, and added experience; but, because of reconstruction, the flow of capital from the United States to Hispanic America may be impeded. To win the highest meed of success the captains of commerce and industry in the United States are discovering that they must display adaptability.

CHAPTER VII

INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES OF UNITED STATES CITIZENS IN HISPANIC AMERICA

William Wheelwright and steam navigation in the Pacific—United States steamship lines to Hispanic-American ports—Wheelwright as a railway promoter in South America—Henry Meiggs as a railway contractor in Chile and Peru—The Madeira and Mamoré Railroad—The railroad from Guayaquil to Quito—The Panamá Railroad Company—Yankee railway enterprise in Mexico—American international telegraph companies—United States mining companies in Mexico, Central America, Peru, Chile, and Bolivia—Asphalt and petroleum companies in northern South America—The banking facilities of the United States in Hispanic America—The American International Corporation—Grace and Company—United States investments in Hispanic-American countries—The construction of the Panamá Canal.

The story of the industrial enterprise of United States citizens in Hispanic America is interwoven with the commercial relations between the United States and that vast region. At various points that story is connected with attempts of citizens of the United States to establish steamship lines between Hispanic-American states and other countries. Some notable achievements of Yankees have been the construction of railroads in different sections of Hispanic America. United States citizens have attempted to bind North and South America closer together by laying submarine cables. In recent years they have established colossal mining plants in Mexico and South America. They have also planted in South America branches of United States banks—banks which seem destined to perform most valuable functions by promoting relations between United States investors and the peoples of Hispanic America. Such manifestations of the industrial enterprise of citizens of the United States in Hispanic America this chapter will consider in some detail.

Those citizens evidently helped to make known to the peoples of Hispanic America certain inventions and appliances that had

promoted commerce and industry in the United States. The independence of Mexico had scarcely been established when a citizen of the United States named James S. Wilcox was accorded the exclusive privilege of introducing steam pumps for use in the mines of that country.¹ According to the Venezuelan historian, Manuel Landaeta Rosales, the first steamship that navigated the waters of South America was used by Samuel Glover, a citizen of the United States, upon Lake Maracaibo in 1826.²

An account of steam navigation in South America—as well as the history of railroad transportation—is inextricably linked with the name of William Wheelwright, a native of Newburyport, Massachusetts. When a mere lad Wheelwright became a sailor; and in 1823, while acting as captain of a merchant vessel, he was wrecked upon the coast of South America near Buenos Aires. During his sojourn in that city he became inspired with the ideas of Bernardino Rivadavia, who wished to establish a port at Ensenada, to encourage European immigration, and to promote communications between the Argentine seacoast and the Andes.³ On June 16, 1824, Wheelwright was commissioned consul of the United States at the port of Guayaquil, Great Colombia⁴; his appointment was confirmed by the Senate on January 10, 1825,⁵ and he served in that capacity for several years. He afterwards settled in Valparaiso and engaged in the coasting trade on the Pacific shores of South America. It was during this epoch of his life that Wheelwright conceived the idea of navigating the Pacific Ocean by steam vessels.

To republics upon the Pacific this enterprising Yankee directed appeals for concessions which might enable him to carry out his plan. In 1835 Wheelwright said:

By the experience which I have acquired during many years of residence in Spanish-American countries I am intimately convinced of the

¹ *Colección de los decretos y ordenes que ha expedido la soberana junta provisional gubernativa del imperio mexicana*, p. 120; *Gaceta imperial de México*, November 10, 1821.

² Landaeta Rosales, "Contribución del pueblo norte-americano á la libertad y progreso de Venezuela," in *Diario de Caracas*, Caracas, July 2, 1896.

³ Alberdi, *La vida y los trabajos industriales de William Wheelwright en la América del Sur*, pp. 38-45.

⁴ State Department MSS., Dispatches to Consuls, vol. II.

⁵ *Senate Executive Journal*, vol. III, pp. 399, 404.

immense profit which commerce and agriculture will receive through a continuous, rapid, and secure communication among neighboring states and by the establishment of a route of transit for Europe by way of Panamá. . . . Among the maritime countries which are most jealous of the progress of their coasting trade are England and the United States where steamship communication has had such protection that new lines of commerce and industry have been opened and great and beneficial results have been produced. To initiate the projected operations I propose to run two steam vessels touching at all the principal ports upon the Pacific coast from Valparaiso to Panamá.⁶

For the encouragement of his project Wheelwright sought the monopoly of steam navigation upon the Pacific coast of the South American republics for ten years, his steamers to enjoy the privileges of their respective merchant vessels.⁷ It appears that as early as 1835 he presented his project to the Government of New Granada.⁸ Certain it is that by a law of August 25, 1835, Chile granted him the desired concession in those ports which were open to her own merchant vessels.⁹ Soon afterwards General Santa Cruz granted him the same concession in ports of Bolivia and Peru.¹⁰ With those pledges from South American states Wheelwright proceeded to England. In 1838 he published in London a booklet entitled *Statements and Documents relative to the Establishment of Steam Navigation in the Pacific.* The *Times* discussed the projected Pacific Steam Navigation Company and published excerpts from Wheelwright's booklet.¹¹ This booklet included statistical tables and documents as well as reports of meetings of British residents and merchants in Lima and Callao. Wheelwright thus demonstrated that the establishment of a steamship line between England and South America would reduce the period required for communication between England and the coasts of Peru and Chile from four months to thirty or forty days—an improvement in transportation which would greatly stimulate commerce with South America.¹²

⁶ Alberdi, *Wheelwright*, pp. 91-93.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁹ Anguita, *Leyes de Chile*, vol. I, p. 252; see further *ibid.*, pp. 267, 303, 304, 336.

¹⁰ [Wheelwright], *Statements and Documents relative to the Establishment of Steam Navigation in the Pacific*, pp. 39-42.

¹¹ The *Times*, February 6, 1838.

¹² [Wheelwright], pp. 5, 6.

Largely because of the interest which the project of Wheelwright created in London a royal charter was soon granted to the Pacific Steam Navigation Company. Under the direction of the projector two steamships, the *Chile* and the *Peru*, were built in Bristol. With those vessels Wheelwright proceeded through Magellan's Strait. On October 15, 1840, he anchored at Valparaíso where he was received with much enthusiasm. His Argentine biographer, the publicist Juan Bautista Alberdi, enthusiastically declared that this achievement of "the noble soldier of industry" deserved as much applause as Balboa's discovery of the Pacific Ocean. In November, 1840, the *Peru* anchored in the port of Callao where she was visited by Agustín Gamarra, the Peruvian president, who hailed Wheelwright's achievement as the precursor of other agencies of civilization.¹³ The first steamships were thus brought to the Pacific shores of South America through the enterprise and perseverance of a citizen of the United States. Some time afterwards, by virtue of a decree of the congress of New Granada, Wheelwright extended the steamship service to Panamá.¹⁴

As the voyages of the steamships were much delayed by lack of coal, Wheelwright sought for coal deposits and found them in southern Chile.¹⁵ Today the Pacific Steam Navigation Company is the best monument to the memory of its first manager upon the Pacific coast of South America.

Many years passed after Wheelwright brought steamships to Panamá before there was a line of steamers plying directly between the United States and South American ports. The only steamships under the flag of the United States which have plied regularly between New York City and Venezuelan ports were established by the "Red D" Steamship Company. That company sent its first steamship, the *Felicia*, from New York to Venezuela in November, 1859. Its earliest ships were chartered German vessels which within ten years were replaced by steamers built in the United States for use in the trade with

¹³ Alberdi, *Wheelwright*, pp. 118-27.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 162-64; Rivas, *Relaciones internationales entre Colombia y los Estados Unidos*, p. 96.

¹⁵ Alberdi, *Wheelwright*, pp. 133, 134.

South America. In 1888 the vessels of the "Red D" Company were making about thirty voyages per year. At that time the company received from the United States Government a little over six thousand dollars annually for the transportation of the mail, besides a nominal allowance for similar service by the Government of Curaçao. By 1890 this company had nine steamships in the South American service. Its main line ran from New York to the Dutch island of Curaçao, thence to Puerto Cabello in Venezuela, and thence to La Guaira, the port of Caracas. The vessels returned over the same route. A branch line was established between Maracaibo and Curaçao making regular connections at that island with the main line for New York.¹⁶

The first steamships flying the flag of the United States in the ports of Brazil were dispatched by John Roach. In 1877 that shipbuilder had secured a ten year contract with the Brazilian Government for the transportation of mail from Brazil to the United States at the rate of about six thousand dollars per voyage. Roach evidently expected similar support from the United States; and, when he did not receive it, he was forced to withdraw his vessels from the Brazilian trade and to sell them to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company.¹⁷ Subsequently some citizens of the United States who were interested in commerce with South America decided to establish a company to engage in navigation with Brazilian ports. Accordingly in 1882 the United States and Brazil Mail Steamship Company was established. Seven years later that company owned three steamships which ordinarily left New York at intervals of twenty-one days for St. Thomas, Martinique, Barbadoes, Pará, Maranham, Pernambuco, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, and Santos. To Brazilian ports those steamships transported about seventy thousand barrels of flour per month. In its later years this company carried the mail of the United States for small compensation or for nothing, and received ninety-five thousand dollars a year for carrying the mail of Brazil.¹⁸

¹⁶ Curtis, *Trade and Transportation between the United States and Spanish America*, pp. 228-32.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 199-201.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 201-21.

In 1892 the United States and Brazil Mail Steamship Company, whose vessels were described as being "of the highest class afloat for combined freight and passenger traffic," passed into the hands of a receiver. For twenty years the steamship service between New York City and Brazilian ports was almost exclusively in the hands of English and German companies. Those companies sometimes acted in combination. In 1912 and 1913 merchants in the United States became acutely aware of the situation: a suit was filed under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act against the members of the Brazil shipping combination; but, after the outbreak of the World War, "a live issue" degenerated into "a post-mortem."¹⁹ Meantime the United States flag was again flying on merchant vessels in Brazilian ports. This achievement was due to the enterprise of James A. Farrell, president of the United States Steel Corporation, who had reached the conclusion that the only method to sell steel products in Brazil profitably was to secure a parity of freight rates with European competitors. To insure that parity he founded the United States and Brazil Steamship Line. The first steamship of this line sailed from New York to Rio de Janeiro in August, 1913, with a cargo of steel products. Instead of making the return voyage in ballast the vessels of the new line brought manganese ore from Brazil for the manufacture of ferromanganese.²⁰

The Pacific Mail Steamship Company owed its origin to the increasing passenger traffic between New York and the Pacific coast which was largely due to the migration caused by the discovery of gold in California. In 1848 that company was granted a charter by a special act of the New York legislature. Its earliest vessels were equipped to carry gold hunters from the eastern states to the Sacramento Valley. When the rush to the gold fields subsided the company adapted its vessels to a traffic in which freight formed an increasing part. In 1889 the Pacific Mail Steamship Company had seventeen vessels engaged in

¹⁹ Lowry, "Steamship Service between the United States and Middle and South Brazil," in the *Quarterly, being the official organ of the American Chamber of Commerce for Brazil*, no. 1, p. 34.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-37.

freight and passenger service, most of which were plying to ports in Spanish America. Those vessels ran from New York to Aspinwall (Colón) and from Panamá to San Francisco. Ordinarily a trip from New York to Aspinwall occupied eight days, while a trip from Panamá to San Francisco took about twenty days. The company's vessels touched at the following Spanish-American ports: Punta Arenas in Costa Rica; La Libertad, La Unión, and Acajutla in Salvador; San José and Champerico in Guatemala; Acapulco, Manzanillo, San Blas, and Mazatlán in Mexico; San Juan and Corinto in Nicaragua; and Amalpa in Honduras. The cargoes of those vessels were largely composed of manufactured goods and machinery. From Mexico and the Central American states this company received subsidies which in 1889 amounted to over one hundred thousand dollars.²¹

About the same time that John Roach was striving to establish regular steamship communication between the United States and Brazil, the Ward line—which was composed of freight vessels built in Roach's shipyards—was regularly established. In 1877 the line had two steamers. The firm was incorporated four years later under the laws of New York State as the New York and Cuba Mail Steamship Company. In 1889 the company owned six iron steamships which were engaged in the trade between New York and some West Indian ports and also between New York and certain Mexican ports. At that time the cargoes of its vessels were mainly composed of agricultural products and machinery.²²

Among other steamship lines plying between the United States and Hispanic-American ports, mention must be made of the Panamá Railroad Steamship Company and the United Fruit Company. For a period of years the steamship line controlled by the Panamá Railroad Company maintained an efficient service between Panamá and New York. In 1915 the United Fruit Company established lines of steamers to ply between the United States and South America. Its vessels were used in the trade of the United States with Colombia and Central America. Some of those steamers touched at Colón,

²¹ Curtis, pp. 184-88.

²² *Ibid.*

Cartagena, Barranquilla, Santa Marta, and New York; while others plied between New Orleans, Colón, and important ports in Central America. That company furnished the best passenger service which had been established between the United States and Hispanic-American ports. On return trips from ports in Colombia and Central America the vessels of the United Fruit Company are mainly freighted with bananas. To promote its business that company has purchased extensive fruit plantations in Colombia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panamá. In Central America it has also secured control of several railroads.²³

Wheelwright's name furnishes a link between the steamship and the railroad in Hispanic America. Upon severing his active connection with the Pacific Steam Navigation Company Wheelwright became interested in the promotion of railroads in South America. In 1842 he addressed to President Búlnes of Chile a petition asking for the exclusive right to construct a railroad between Valparaíso and Santiago, but the Chilean Government seems to have thought that the project was impracticable.²⁴ While Chilean publicists were meditating over this project, Wheelwright became interested in a plan for the construction of a railroad between Copiapó and Caldera, a port upon the Pacific coast. A Copiapó railroad company was formed, of which he was made the chief manager. Alberdi stated that Wheelwright brought skilful engineers, artisans, mechanics, and rolling stock from the United States to Chile. The railroad from Caldera to Monte Amargo was opened to traffic on July 4, 1851; and the construction of the entire line between Caldera and Copiapó was completed early in 1852.²⁵ A Chilean historical writer declared that a locomotive was brought to Chile from the United States for this railroad in June, 1851.²⁶ Evidently the first locomotive in Chile ran upon a

²³ Munro, *The Five Republics of Central America*, pp. 269-71; Kelsey, *Investments in Latin America and the British West Indies*, pp. 281, 402, 406, 413, 424, 428, 436, 441. On the establishment of a passenger line from the United States to the west coast of South America, see pp. 276-77, *infra*.

²⁴ Alberdi, *Wheelwright*, p. 198.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 175-77.

²⁶ Núñez Olaechea, *Los ferrocarriles de estado*, p. 326.

railroad which had been built as a result of the enterprise of a citizen of the United States.

Then Wheelwright tried to carry out another design which he had conceived, the construction of a railroad between Santiago and Valparaiso. Through engineers who had been brought from the United States to build the Copiapó railroad, he caused plans and surveys to be made of this short but difficult route.²⁷ When he had demonstrated the practicability of a railroad between Valparaiso and Santiago to his own satisfaction, he asked from the Chilean Government a concession for its construction. Of this plea Alberdi said: "The document in which Wheelwright solicited that concession was an illuminating page of political economy, which opened the eyes of the government and of the nation with regard to the progress that the proposed railway should produce in Chile."²⁸

After a study of plans prepared by a United States engineer named Campbell which were transmitted through Wheelwright, the Chilean Government decided to sanction the enterprise. On June 19, 1849, that government granted to Wheelwright a concession to construct a railroad between Santiago and Valparaiso with the exclusive privilege of operating it for thirty years.²⁹ A law was enacted in August, 1851, authorizing the government to promote the establishment of a company to build that railroad.³⁰ Progress in the construction of the railroad between Santiago and Valparaiso was very slow; but providentially there was in Chile at that juncture an energetic citizen of the United States named Henry Meiggs, who had been engaged in building a railroad near Rancagua. In September, 1861, Meiggs signed a contract to complete the railroad between Santiago and Valparaiso.³¹ To quote a Chilean writer, "From that moment the entire aspect of the task of constructing the railroad between Santiago and Valparaiso changed. The undulations of the route were levelled; and mountains were pierced as by enchantment."³² On July 4, 1863, the first

²⁷ Alberdi, *Wheelwright*, pp. 183, 184.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 184, 185.

²⁹ Anguita, vol. I, pp. 508-10.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 587, 588.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 587, 588.

³² *El ferrocarril de Arequipa*, p. 101.

locomotive entered Santiago from Valparaiso with a special train bearing Meiggs as well as engineers and officials of the railroad. After the road went into regular operation a banquet was held at Lai-Lai to celebrate the successful completion of that difficult engineering feat: there Chilean functionaries drank to the health of Campbell, Meiggs, and Wheelwright.³³ Of the part played by Meiggs in this achievement a Chilean writer said, "My country should be grateful to this son of the North who knew how to transplant to Chile the genius of his race in order to open for us a road of progress."³⁴

While the Santiago-Valparaiso line was being completed Wheelwright was planning a trans-Andean railroad. According to his own account, he began to dream of such a project as early as 1850. Wheelwright's original idea was to connect Caldera by railway with the Argentine city of Rosario on the Paraná River.³⁵ At his own expense he directed some preliminary surveys of the route across the Andes. His views concerning that railway were expressed in a letter which he wrote in 1867 to the president of Chile. In this letter Wheelwright declared that such a railroad would make available vast natural wealth; that it would promote commerce between Chile and her neighbors; that it would break down the great natural barrier between Chile and Argentina; and that it would furnish a new and shorter route between England and Australia. He estimated that ten years of traffic over this Andean railway would pay the cost of its construction. In emphatic words he declared that his project was not a chimera.³⁶

To carry out this project, which the Chilean Government would not promote, Wheelwright went to Argentina, where by a law that had been enacted in 1855, he and a Uruguayan banker had been granted the right to build, as an extension of an existing road, a railway line across the Andes. Thence Wheelwright proceeded to England in order to interest capitalists in his project. In March, 1863, the Argentine Government made a new contract with Wheelwright. This contract provided for the construction of a railroad from Rosario to Córdoba by the

³³ Núñez Olaechea, pp. 44-62.

³⁵ Alberdi, *Wheelwright*, p. 193.

³⁴ *El ferrocarril de Arequipa*, p. 101.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 193-99

Central Argentine Railroad Company. The legal domicile of that company was to be in Argentina; and its capital should be eight million *pesos*. All the lands necessary for the railroad and for the company's stations, warehouses, offices, and wharves were to be furnished by the Argentine Government. Materials for the construction and equipment of that railroad should be admitted into Argentina free of duty for forty years. That government guaranteed the company an annual income of seven per cent upon a capital of one million six hundred thousand pounds and granted it a strip of land a league wide upon each side of the railroad. Argentina also gave the company a concession to extend its line westward to the Andes with similar privileges.³⁷

At Rosario on April 20, 1863, President Mitre lifted the first spadeful of earth from the roadbed of the line. In an address Mitre said that this railroad would become the American railroad. Wheelwright made a speech in which he declared that by this railroad the locomotive of civilization would ultimately surmount the Andes and reach Caldera.³⁸ With the aid of English capital the Central Argentine Railroad was completed to Córdoba in seven years. On May 16, 1870, the Government of Argentina issued a decree declaring that the inauguration of the railroad on the following day was "the greatest achievement of the epoch," that on that day the national flag should fly upon all public buildings, that at the moment when the telegraph announced the opening of the railroad a salute of twenty-one guns should be fired from the fortress of Buenos Aires, and that the bishop of Córdoba would transmit by telegraph his benediction to the entire republic upon so auspicious an event.³⁹ Robert C. Kirk, the minister of the United States to Argentina, who was present at the inauguration, enthusiastically declared that before much time elapsed the locomotive of the Central Argentine Railroad would cross the Andes.⁴⁰

But Wheelwright's ambitious project of extending this railroad westward across the Andes and northward to Tucumán was not carried out; for, when Domingo Sarmiento became

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 207-9.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 220, 221.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 211-16.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

president of Argentina, the government changed its plans concerning railways. The last service of Wheelwright to South America was the construction of a railway line between the city of Buenos Aires and the seaport of Ensenada. This captain of industry initiated that project in 1863 and, with the aid of English capital, he completed it in December, 1872.⁴¹ Not the least of Wheelwright's claims to distinction is that into various cities where he labored he introduced gas and water works.⁴²

In 1850 the Chilean Government bestowed a gold medal upon Wheelwright as "a testimonial of gratitude" for his material services. At Valparaiso a statue was subsequently unveiled in Wheelwright's honor. Perhaps no other citizen of the United States is so much revered in certain parts of Spanish America as William Wheelwright, who, by connecting Europe more closely with the Pacific shores of South America, and by serving as a railway promoter, brought to three republics the blessings of civilization. Alberdi paid him the following tribute:

The figure of Wheelwright serves as a type of those personalities that South America requires in order that her rich soil may bloom; for he exemplifies the judgment, honor, and energy which are requisite in the managers of great enterprises in order that their efforts may be crowned by success.⁴³

The name of Wheelwright is also linked with the story of railway transportation in Peru. For, after he brought steamships to the Pacific, he became interested in the construction of a railroad between Callao and Lima. In April, 1847, the Peruvian Government gave him a concession for the construction of that railroad.⁴⁴ This concession, however, he was unable to carry out. After the Peruvian Government had seriously considered a plan for the building of a railroad between Arequipa and the port of Mejia, after various engineers had made surveys and prepared projects, and after a contract to construct that railroad by Pickering and Gibson had lapsed, on March 31, 1868, Henry Meiggs made a definite proposal to

⁴¹ Alberdi, *Wheelwright*, p. 277.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 177, 183; Anguita, vol. I, p. 598.

⁴³ Alberdi, *Wheelwright*, p. 315.

⁴⁴ *Los ferrocarriles del Perú*, vol. I, pp. 361-63.

Peru for the construction of the Arequipa railroad. Exclusive of delays due to earthquakes, inundations, or revolutions, Meiggs proposed to construct the railroad between Arequipa and the Pacific coast within three years, according to plans approved by the Peruvian government. He stipulated that the necessary materials, equipment, and supplies should be admitted into Peru free of all duties or taxes. The Peruvian Government was to facilitate the work by insuring the acquisition of the land which was necessary for the construction and maintenance of the railway. That government should pay the cost of constructing and equipping the railroad, which Meiggs estimated at twelve million *soles*. Two million *soles* were to be furnished at once for the purchase of supplies and equipment, while the rest of the money was to be allotted in monthly payments in proportion to the number of miles constructed. On the one hand, Meiggs agreed to pay twenty thousand *soles* for each month that might be necessary to complete the work beyond the stipulated three years; while, on the other hand, he proposed that the Peruvian Government should pay him a bonus of the same amount for each month of the stipulated three years which he should anticipate in the completion of the road. Any disagreements which might arise about the execution of the contract were to be decided by Peru's courts.⁴⁵ On April 20, 1868, declaring that the proposal of Meiggs was the most advantageous and reliable of the bids which had been received, the Government of Peru stated its intention to accept his proposal.⁴⁶ A contract was prepared, embodying Meigg's propositions with some modifications, and on May 4, 1868, that contract was declared to be in force.⁴⁷

Peru undertook to raise the required funds by loans which were floated in Europe. The construction of the railroad began in May, 1868. To aid him in his task Meiggs employed among others two United States engineers, Joseph B. Hill and John Thorndike, who had been engaged in the construction of the railway from Valparaiso to Santiago. Hundreds of Chilean, Bolivian, and Peruvian laborers were employed. Nomadic

⁴⁵ *El ferrocarril de Arequipa*, pp. 104-7.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 115, 116.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 120-26.

villages sprang up, as if by magic, along the route of the projected railway. It has been estimated that the cost of making the necessary roads was more than one million *soles*. Thousands of barrels of powder were used to blast the rocks and the mountains. A contemporary recorded that the construction of the railroad cost the lives of two thousand men. With such unexpected rapidity was the railroad built in serpentine fashion through valleys and along the sides of immense mountains, that it reached Arequipa in December, 1870.⁴⁸ Although constructed at a heavy cost in money and human life, the railroad between Arequipa and Mejia was only a little over one hundred miles in length.

The opening of this wonderful railroad to regular traffic was made the occasion of a special ceremony by the Government of Peru. A large party of prominent Peruvians, including President Balta, made a trip from Lima to Mejia. At Mejia or Mollendo, as it came to be known, a delegation from Arequipa met the party from Lima, and, as a Peruvian newspaper correspondent said, the steamship and the railroad saluted each other. During the celebration Meiggs said: "Someone has characterized the railroad from Arequipa as colossal. It is. But in the pleasure of the scientific triumph no one has thought of its cost! I do not speak of money; I speak of the blood and the lives which have been spent: hundreds of Chileans, Peruvians, Bolivians, French, Irish, and also Anglo-Americans have died in this labor!"⁴⁹ President Balta proposed a toast: "To the peace of well-intentioned governments! To the great works of Mr. Meiggs! To him, gentlemen, let us drink this cup!" Meiggs made the following response: "Without the generous cooperation of the government of Colonel Balta; without an administration as active, as enthusiastic, and as enterprising as his, we should have been able to accomplish nothing,—absolutely nothing! Let us drink to Colonel Balta!"⁵⁰ After the bishop of Arequipa had blessed the locomotives, the distinguished party travelled to Arequipa where it arrived on

⁴⁸ *El ferrocarril de Arequipa*, pp. 165, 206-8.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 178, 179.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

December 31, 1870.⁵¹ There, after rejoicings and speeches, Henry Meiggs was presented with medals which commemorated his great engineering achievement.⁵² A United States contractor was again praised in the same breath with the president of a South American republic.

In a speech at the inauguration of the Arequipa railroad Meiggs expressed the desire that in less than five years a party might gather within sight of proud Mount Illimani to behold the opening of a railroad to Puno.⁵³ The construction of the railroad to Arequipa naturally stimulated thoughts of a railroad to Lake Titicaca on the Bolivian frontier. In fact, as early as October, 1868, the Government of Peru had authorized Meiggs to begin a preliminary survey of the route from Arequipa to Puno and even to Cuzco.⁵⁴ That government soon invited bids for the construction of the railroad to Puno, a town on the Peruvian banks of Lake Titicaca, twelve thousand five hundred feet above sea level. In December, 1869, the Peruvian Government entered into a contract with Meiggs for the building of that railroad. This contract somewhat resembled the contract for the railroad from Mollendo to Arequipa: Peru agreed to pay thirty-two million *soles* for the construction of the railroad which was to be completed within five years.⁵⁵ The task of building that railroad from Arequipa, by way of Crucero Alto, some fourteen thousand feet above the level of the sea, to Puno, was begun in the following year. It was not completed, however, until the beginning of 1876. Soon after work on the Arequipa-Puno railroad was started, Meiggs entered into another contract with the Peruvian Government for the extension of that railroad from Juliaca to Cuzco within three years.⁵⁶ This plan involved the construction of a railway through deep valleys and over the Amazon-Titicaca watershed which was about fourteen thousand feet above sea level.

Several years earlier Meiggs had become interested in the construction of a railroad which was to proceed from Callao up the Rimac Valley by a steadily ascending route to Oroya,

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 183, 184, 228-33.
⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 315-22.
⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 244.
⁵⁴ *Los ferrocarriles del Perú*, vol. I, p. 1.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-12.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 715-20.

twelve thousand feet above sea level, and thence to a point open to steam navigation on the branches of the Amazon River. On December 18, 1869, a contract was signed between Meiggs and the Peruvian Government for the construction of a railroad from Callao to Oroya. The difficulties confronting the North American contractor may be suggested by the statement that the plans for this line included estimates for thirty-eight bridges, four viaducts, and twenty-seven tunnels, and that the road would have to surmount the cordillera at a point which was over fifteen thousand feet above the level of the sea.⁵⁷

Alejandro Garland thus describes the manner in which this railway climbs the Andean slopes:

The line starts from a port situated on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, and after running for some kilometers through fields sown with cotton and passing through sugar estates, reaches one of the narrow passes opened in the slopes of the cordillera by the erosion effected by the waters of some impetuous river while making its way to the ocean; and although the locomotive has only advanced some fifty kilometers from the point of starting, we find that the line is at least 1000 meters above the level of the sea; meantime the locomotive skirting the hills, continues to creep higher by means of prodigious zigzags, deep cuttings, daring viaducts, and repeated tunnels; there are spots, like that called *Infernillo* or "Little Hell," where the locomotive is seen unexpectedly emerging from the bowels of a great mountain, and then crossing a deep and precipitous ravine by means of a very lofty viaduct which terminates in the mouth of another tunnel, in which the locomotive once more disappears, in order to pass through another mountain equally lofty and rugged, leaving always behind it during its marvellous ascent one hill after another. Proceeding onward and overcoming all kinds of obstacles in its uninterrupted journey upwards, before it has reached a distance of 170 kilometers from the shores of the Pacific Ocean, the locomotive suddenly appears among the snow clad crests of the Andes range, at a height of about 5000 meters above the point of starting.⁵⁸

By 1875 this railroad was completed to Chicla, about eighty-eight miles from Callao. Partly because of conditions resulting

⁵⁷ *Los ferrocarriles del Perú*, vol. I, pp. 114-20.

⁵⁸ Garland, *Peru in 1906*, p. 283.

from the war between Peru and Chile the railroad was not completed to Oroya until 1893, many years after the death of its projector.⁵⁹ Under the stimulus of other captains of industry from the United States, the Oroya railroad has since been extended to Cerro de Pasco. This railroad among the clouds is one of the most remarkable achievements of modern engineering. It was through the farsighted enterprise of Henry Meiggs that the railway system of Peru was projected and by his indomitable energy that several important lines were constructed.

Another citizen of the United States prepared the way for a railroad in the very heart of South America. This was George E. Church, a soldier and explorer, who undertook to provide an eastern outlet for Bolivian trade by connecting the navigation of the Rivers Beni, Mamoré, and Guaporé with navigation on the Amazon. In 1868 Colonel Church was given a concession by the Bolivian Government authorizing him to organize in the United States or Europe a company to navigate the Bolivian tributaries of the Madeira River and providing that he should canalize that river so that its rapids would not obstruct navigation.⁶⁰ Bolivia subsequently transformed that grant into a railroad concession;⁶¹ and, on April 20, 1870, the Brazilian Government also authorized Church to construct a railroad around the rapids of the Madeira.⁶² The United States Congress soon passed a law authorizing Church and other persons to organize the National Bolivian Navigation Company, which was given power to employ vessels "in navigation between the United States and the ports of South America, or upon the rivers and navigable waters of Bolivia and Brazil."⁶³ In London the promoter organized the Madeira and Mamoré Railway Company, floated a large Bolivian loan, and engaged English contractors to construct the railway. Those contractors failed to perform their task. Their litigious opposition hin-

⁵⁹ Costa y Laurent, *Reseña histórica de los ferrocarriles del Perú*, p. 78.

⁶⁰ *Anuario administrativo*, 1868, p. 151. On the rapids, see pp. 334, 335, *infra*.

⁶¹ *Anuario administrativo*, 1869, pp. 309-13.

⁶² *Collecção das leis do Brasil*, 1870, pt. II, p. 230.

⁶³ *The Statutes at Large of the United States*, vol. xvi, pp. 168, 169.

dered the work which the indefatigable Church next entrusted to Philadelphia contractors. So great were the difficulties encountered that, after part of the road had been laid, it was temporarily abandoned.⁶⁴ As Bolivia had ceded land to subsidize the enterprise, an article in the Treaty of Petropolis in 1903 between Bolivia and Brazil provided that the Brazilian Government should, within a limited period, build a line from São Antonio on the Madeira River to Guajará-Mirim on the Mamoré River with a branch extending to Villa Bella in Bolivia at the junction of the Beni and the Mamoré. This treaty stipulated that the contracting parties should have equal rights upon the proposed railway.

Three years later a concession for the construction of this railroad was granted to Joaquim Catramby,⁶⁵ who in 1908 transferred it to the Madeira and Mamoré Railway Company, which was registered in Maine with a capital of eleven million dollars.⁶⁶ The Madeira and Mamoré Railway Company soon undertook the construction of the road and the last section was opened to traffic in 1912. In that year the company secured a concession from the government of Bolivia for the construction of a railroad from Guajará-Mirim to Riberalta, at the confluence of the Beni and the Madre de Dios rivers.⁶⁷ By the enterprise of the Madeira and Mamoré Railway Company, which thus spanned the wide gap in the navigation of the tributaries of the Amazon River, a convenient egress to the world was furnished to the vast eastern slopes of Bolivia. A considerable part of the capital stock of the Madeira-Mamoré Railway Company was transferred to the Brazil Railway Company which was registered in Maine in 1906 with a capital of forty million dollars,⁶⁸ a company which also secured a controlling interest in various railways of southern Brazil.

⁶⁴ Craig, *Recollections of an Ill-Fated Expedition to the Headwaters of the Madeira River in Brazil*, pp. 49, 55, 64-69, 431, 440-43.

⁶⁵ *Collecção das leis do Brasil*, 1906, *actas do poder executivo*, vol. II, pp. 733-39.

⁶⁶ *Collecção das leis do Brasil*, 1907, *actas do poder executivo*, vol. III, pp. 2274-88; *ibid.*, 1908, *actas do poder executivo*, vol. I, p. 53.

⁶⁷ *República de Bolivia, anuario de leyes, decretos y resoluciones supremas*, 1912, vol. I, pp. 527, 528.

⁶⁸ *Collecção das leis do Brasil*, 1907, *actas do poder executivo*, vol. II, pp. 970-83.

On June 14, 1897, there was signed in the city of Quito between Dr. Ricardo Valdivieso, secretary of finance of Ecuador, as a representative of his government, and Archer Harman, a citizen of the United States, in the name of certain citizens of that country, a contract for the construction of the Guayaquil and Quito Railway. The contract provided that Archer Harman should organize a railway company in the United States to build a railroad from Chimbo to Quito, to put into good condition the existing railroad between Durán and Chimbo, and to make proper connections between Durán and Guayaquil. Upon its part the Government of Ecuador was to issue bonds—guaranteed by its customhouse duties and by a first mortgage on the property of the railway company—to the amount of \$12,285,000: of this \$2,250,000 should be preferred stock, and the rest common stock. Besides guaranteeing the interest on the bonds, the Ecuadorian Government agreed to pay any deficit which might occur in the working expenses of the railway for six years after it had reached Quito. The government was to grant to the railway company the right of way from Durán to Quito, as well as the lands necessary for offices, stations, workshops, and wharves. Article XXVII of the contract provided that controversies or disagreements which might arise between the contracting parties should be settled by the arbitration of the president of Ecuador and the President of the United States. Should those presidents not wish to arbitrate, each of them should appoint an arbiter, and, in case of need, they were also to select an umpire.⁶⁹ This contract stipulated that the railroad should be constructed to Quito within six years. A supplementary contract extended that term to ten years.⁷⁰

In September, 1897, Archer Harman and his associates filed a certificate of incorporation of the Guayaquil and Quito Railway Company in the office of the secretary of state of New Jersey.⁷¹ The bonds, as issued by the Government of Ecuador, were sold in England and in the United States. Under the direction of

⁶⁹ *Contract for the Construction of the Guayaquil and Quito Railway*, pp. 4-24.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 64.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

Mr. Harman, the company soon began work on the railway. By October, 1899, Colonel Shunk and a corps of engineers from the United States had located the line from Chimbo to Sibambe. That section of the route presented great engineering difficulties, for it reached an altitude of eight thousand feet. Progress was slow because of the great natural difficulties which were encountered and because the material and the equipment had to be hauled from Guayaquil.⁷² Four years later, the railroad had been completed to Guamote, about half way to Quito.⁷³ By the year 1906 the road had been laid "through tropical forests up the slopes of the Andes and through vast mountain gorges" to the city of Riobamba, which was about ten thousand feet above the level of the sea and one hundred and thirty miles from Quito. The route for the railway had been surveyed, however, as far as the capital city.⁷⁴ On June 14, 1907, the date set for the inauguration of the railway, it was not finished. Its construction had evidently been delayed because of the non-arrival of material and equipment and because of disturbed conditions in Ecuador.⁷⁵ While a controversy due to the failure to fulfill the original contracts was being adjusted, the railroad was completed to the capital city. On June 17, 1908, América Alfaro, the daughter of the president of Ecuador, drove a golden spike in the last section of the road.⁷⁶

The construction of a transisthmian railroad by citizens of the United States was preceded by a French project.⁷⁷ But the French company neglected to furnish the financial guarantee which was required by its contract, New Granada declared that the contract was forfeited, and in December, 1848, Pedro A. Herrán, minister of New Granada in Washington, assigned the contract, with slight alterations, to an association styled the Panamá Railroad Company which was represented by

Commercial Relations of the United States with Foreign Countries, 1899, vol. I, p. 660.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 1903, vol. II, p. 311.

⁷⁴ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1906, vol. II, pp. 629, 630.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 629; *ibid.*, 1907, p. 385.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 1908, p. 276. On the arbitration of the controversy between the railroad company and Ecuador, see *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1908, p. 275, and *ibid.*, 1907, pp. 385-90.

⁷⁷ Plaza, *Apéndice á la recopilación de leyes de la Nueva Granada*, pp. 59-64.

John L. Stephens, Henry Chauncey, and William R. Aspinwall.⁷⁸

A short time afterwards these representatives of the Panamá Railroad Company presented a memorial to the Senate and the House of Representatives regarding their project. In that memorial Aspinwall and his associates said that "the acquisition of California" and the adjustment of the Oregon boundary dispute marked a new epoch in the history of the United States. They declared that "hundreds of young men" from the eastern states were "buffeting the storms of Cape Horn," and that in the following spring "the hardy pioneers of the west" would be journeying "by thousands over the desolate prairie, or climbing the rugged steeps of the Rocky Mountains, to build up for us new States on the Pacific." The memorialists said that there was a crying need for a road to transport emigrants, soldiers, and munitions across the Isthmus of Panamá; and they asked from Congress the cooperation and aid which were necessary for carrying out "this great American work." They suggested that the secretary of the navy be authorized to enter into a contract with them for the prospective transportation of the agents, munitions, and mails of the United States across the Isthmus by their railroad on condition that it should be completed within three years.⁷⁹ Upon this petition the House Committee on Naval Affairs made a favorable report recommending that a grant of \$250,000 per annum should be made to the memorialists in order to enable them to build a Panamá railroad.⁸⁰

But a new administration at Bogotá did not altogether approve of the Herrán contract and the project was temporarily suspended.⁸¹ At last there was signed in that city on April 15, 1850, between Victoriano de Diego Paredes, New Granada's secretary of foreign relations, and J. L. Stephens, the vice president and agent of the Panamá Railroad Company, a new contract. A few slight modifications of this contract by the congress were accepted by Stephens, and a law approving the

⁷⁸ *Railroad across the Isthmus of Panamá*, pp. 41-46.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-24.

⁸¹ Rivas, pp. 228-54.

revised contract was signed by the president of New Granada on June 4, 1850.⁸²

The definitive contract was composed of sixty-two articles. This contract granted to the Panamá Railroad Company the exclusive right to build a railroad between the Atlantic Ocean and the Pacific by way of the Isthmus of Panamá. New Granada promised that during forty-nine years she would not, without the consent of the railroad company, permit the construction of a canal across the Isthmus. That railroad was to be built within six years, a period that might be extended to eight years. The company should be allowed to introduce into the Isthmus, free of duties, the materials necessary for railroad construction. It was conceded the land necessary for the construction and maintenance of the railroad. Upon condition that the railroad should be extended to the island of Manzanillo, New Granada granted to the company for forty-nine years the unoccupied lands upon that island. Further, she made a grant of public lands to the company in the provinces of Panamá and Veragua. The company was given the privilege to transport foreign mail across the Isthmus: in return it agreed to transport the mail of New Granada free, and to pay that government a quota of the income accruing from the transportation of other mail. It further agreed to pay New Granada three per cent of the net income of the railroad. The contract contained a stipulation that the right to construct this transisthmian railroad could not be transferred to any foreign government. Any controversies which might arise should be settled by magistrates of New Granada.⁸³

Early in 1850 the Panamá Railroad Company had sent engineers to the Isthmus to survey the route for the projected railroad. After the concession was made Aspinwall went to England to purchase materials and rolling stock; while Stephens returned to the Isthmus with G. M. Totten, the engineer who had contracted to prepare the roadbed.⁸⁴ The company sent laborers and supplies to the Isthmus from New York and New

⁸² *Gaceta oficial*, Bogotá, June 9, 1850.

⁸³ Uribe, *Anales diplomáticos y consulares de Colombia*, vol. 1, pp. xxxiii-li.

⁸⁴ *Informe del secretario de relaciones exteriores*, 1850, apéndice, p. 14.

Orleans.⁸⁵ It soon became evident to the promoters of the enterprise that they would encounter great difficulties upon the Isthmus because of the scarcity of wood, because of the difficulty of securing acclimated laborers, and, above all, because of the enervating climate. Yet they began their immense task, in the words of New Granada's secretary of foreign relations, "with the intrepidity and valor which generally distinguish the North Americans."⁸⁶

The task of constructing the Panamá Railroad was started at the island of Manzanillo where a hospital and warehouses were soon established. In November, 1851, a track had been laid to Gatun.⁸⁷ By March, 1852, the railroad had been almost built to Bohio, a point about twenty miles from Aspinwall. C. H. Green, agent of the railway company, published an advertisement on March 12, 1852, which announced that three days later the company would begin to run a train daily from Aspinwall to Bohio and *vice versa*. The railroad was opened to Frigoles two months afterwards. By January, 1854, the service was extended to Matachin, while work had been started at the Panamá terminus of the railroad.⁸⁸ The first interoceanic train ran across the Isthmus from Aspinwall to Panamá on January 28, 1855.

Upon the following day, *El Panameño* thus commented upon the work:

We express our content and joy at beholding the trip made from one ocean to another by steam. This grand achievement, that resounds in the Old World and the New, will bring about a stupendous commercial revolution which the human mind can scarcely conceive! Everlasting praise to those who undertook and executed a wonder of such magnitude: felicitations to those known to us, Messrs. Aspinwall and Totten; eternal gratitude to the unfortunate Mr. Stephens, our good friend!

In 1857, Salvador Camacho Roldán, who estimated the cost of constructing this railroad at seven or eight million dollars, paid a tribute to the achievement in these words:

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 1851, pt. II, pp. 48, 49.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁸⁷ *El Panameño*, November 23, 1851.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, March 25 and May 2, 1852, and January 29, 1854.

The Panamá Railroad,—a phrase which marks an epoch in the history of a people's progress—is the first railroad constructed in New Granada. It has endowed our country with a permanent system of steam communications with the coast of both Americas, with the Antilles, the United States, and Europe. Perhaps the day is not far distant when ships from Asia and Australia will fasten themselves to the wharves of that railroad. . . . Our future depends upon the introduction of the capital and the arts of the rich and civilized peoples of the globe!⁸⁹

Serious attempts by citizens of the United States to build railroads in Mexico date from October 12, 1877, when Ferguson and Lymon, who represented interests in the United States, made a contract with the Mexican minister of public works to construct a railroad from the port of Guaymas in the state of Sonora to the northern frontier in order to connect with a railway in the United States. The contract provided that all persons participating in the enterprise should, in that connection, be considered as Mexican citizens.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, this contract—as well as a similar contract for the construction of the Mexican Central Railroad—was not ratified by the congress of Mexico.⁹¹ However, in accordance with the action of the Mexican congress, in September, 1880, President Díaz made a definitive contract with the Sonora Railroad Company, which was organized under the laws of Massachusetts, for the construction of a road from Guaymas to the northern frontier of Mexico. To aid in the construction of the railroad the Mexican Government granted the Sonora Railroad Company the right of way through the republic and agreed to pay that company seven thousand *pesos* for each kilometer of railroad constructed.⁹² This railroad was built from Guaymas to Nogales by the end of the year, 1882; and early in the following year it was opened to traffic.⁹³ A consul of the United States declared that Guaymas was thus brought within six days travel of New York City in-

⁸⁹ Camacho Roldán, *Ferrocarril de Panamá*, p. 14.

⁹⁰ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1879, pp. 789, 790.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 778.

⁹² Dublán y Lozano, *Legislación mexicana*, vol. xiv, pp. 458-66

⁹³ *Commercial Relations of the United States*, 1882-1883, p. 226.

stead of twenty-one.⁹⁴ For, by the construction of the Sonora line, a section of Mexico was placed in direct connection with the railway system of the United States through the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad.

In accordance with a law of the Mexican congress, on September 8, 1880, President Díaz made a definitive contract for the construction of the Mexican Central Railroad. According to that contract, the Mexican Central Railroad Company, a corporation organized under the laws of Massachusetts, agreed to construct within ninety-nine years the following railway lines: a line from the city of Mexico to León in the state of Guanajuato by way of Querétaro, Celaya, Salamanca, Irapuato, Guanajuato, and Silao; another line from León to El Paso via Aguascalientes, Zacatecas, and Chihuahua; and another from some point upon the main line to the Pacific Ocean by way of Guadalajara. To aid in the difficult task of constructing this railroad the Mexican Government granted that company the right of way through the territory of the republic and agreed to pay it nine thousand five hundred *pesos* for each kilometer built.⁹⁵ A short time before that contract was signed the company's engineers had begun to survey the line; and in September, 1880, workmen began to lay the rails.⁹⁶ In April, 1884, the main line was in operation from the city of Mexico to El Paso, Texas, connecting the cities specified in the contract by a railroad 1,224 miles in length.⁹⁷ Before 1900 the Mexican Central Railroad Company had also constructed branches from convenient points on the trunk line to Pachuca, Guadalajara, and Tampico. Thus the great arterial railroad system of Mexico was laid. It connected with the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad at El Paso and thus linked Mexican railroads to the railway system of the United States.

At the time that the Mexican Central Railroad was being constructed, the Southern Pacific Railroad Company under-

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1884-85, p. 668.

⁹⁵ Dublán y Lozano, vol. xiv, pp. 404-16.

⁹⁶ *Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Mexican Central Railway Co.*, 1880, p. 5.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1884, p. 5.

took to build a railway through Mexico from the Río Grande to the Pacific Ocean, without a subsidy. The main line of what was designated the Mexican International Railroad was put into operation between Ciudad Porfirio Díaz and Durango in 1892. That road placed certain railways of Mexico into connection with the Southern Pacific Railroad system at Eagle Pass, Texas.⁹⁸ By three different routes the railways of Mexico were accordingly linked to the railway systems of the United States. In accordance with their contracts, the corporations of the United States which built railroads in Mexico also agreed to construct telegraphs along their railroad lines. Thus, in Mexico, as in certain countries of South America, the enterprise of citizens of the United States promoted intercommunication between various sections by railroads and telegraphs.

North American enterprise has helped to bring the Hispanic-American countries closer to Europe as well as to the United States by submarine telegraphs. On January 30, 1864, Perry Collins wrote a letter to Secretary of State Seward regarding a project to lay a cable around the coast of South America, a cable which should ultimately pass through Central America and Mexico to connect with the telegraph lines of the United States. Collins asked Seward to send instructions to the ministers of the United States in South American capitals to promote the execution of his plan.⁹⁹ Secretary Seward received the suggestion with favor; for on August 18, 1864, he addressed to the diplomatic agents of the United States in South America a circular transmitting a copy of Collins' letter and informing them about his grand design. To quote from the circular:

You are authorized and requested if opportunity is presented, or if occasion offers, to make known to the government near which you reside that the negotiation proposed by Mr. Collins is viewed with favor by the Government of the United States and that this government will learn with satisfaction that the states in the southern part of the American continent have viewed with equal favor an enterprise

⁹⁸ *Highways of Commerce*, p. 48.

⁹⁹ *Memoria presentada por el ministro secretario de estado en el departamento de relaciones exteriores al congreso legislativo*, 1866, pp. 121-24.

whose proportions so evidently tend to promote the mutual welfare and to fortify the bonds of friendship among the American nations.¹⁰⁰

More than a year after those instructions were written, in the end of 1865, James A. Scrymser and other persons incorporated under the laws of New York the International Ocean Telegraph Company. The declared object of that company was to construct, operate, and maintain a telegraph line or lines between New York City and the West Indies by way of Florida. It intended ultimately to extend the cable to the Isthmus of Panamá and to South America.

Early in the following year the legislature of Florida passed a law granting to the company the exclusive right for twenty years to establish a submarine cable or cables upon its coast and to unite Florida to Cuba by cable. This law stipulated that the continental end of this cable should be connected with the existing telegraph lines.¹⁰¹ The President of the United States signed a law on May 5, 1866, granting to this company and its successors the exclusive privilege for fourteen years "to lay, construct, land, maintain, and operate telegraphic or magnetic lines or cables in and over the waters, reefs, islands, shores, and lands over which the United States have jurisdiction" from the shores of Florida to the Bahamas, Cuba, and other West India islands.¹⁰² Soon afterwards the queen of Spain issued an order to the governor of Cuba informing him that her government had granted to a representative of the International Ocean Telegraph Company permission to survey the coasts of Cuba and to establish a station on that island for the cable from Florida.¹⁰³ The Dominican government also granted this company permission to extend its lines to that republic.¹⁰⁴ An agent of the company attempted in vain to secure from the Colombian Government permission to lay submarine cables that would connect the coast of Colombia with

¹⁰⁰ Translated from the Spanish text of the circular, *Memoria presentada por el ministro secretario de estado*, pp. 124, 125.

¹⁰¹ Rebello, *Compañía oceanica telegráfica internacional entre los Estados Unidos y la isla de Cuba y otras islas occidentales, Panamá y Sud América*, pp. 16-18.

¹⁰² Statutes at Large of the United States, vol. XIV, p. 44.

¹⁰³ Rebello, pp. 21-25.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

the United States.¹⁰⁵ The International Ocean Telegraph Company laid a submarine telegraph line between Florida and Key West and between Key West and Habana in 1868, a line which was later extended to the island of Santo Domingo.¹⁰⁶ Subsequently this telegraph company laid a submarine cable between New York and Colón via Cuba.

In 1879 James A. Scrymser organized the Mexican Telegraph Company. He also organized the Central and South American Telegraph Company. The purpose of those two related companies was to connect Mexico and the west coast of Central America and South America directly with the United States by telegraph. According to an agreement entered into between the Mexican Telegraph Company and the Government of Mexico, from 1880 to 1882 submarine cables were laid from Galveston, Texas, to Vera Cruz. A telegraph was soon laid from Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico. In January, 1882, a submarine cable was laid from Vera Cruz to Coatzacoalcos. Six months later a telegraph line was laid across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec from Coatzacoalcos to Salina Cruz. The submarine cable was soon laid from Salina Cruz to La Libertad in Central America and from this point to San Juan del Sur, Nicaragua. In August, 1882, the last link of this submarine cable from San Juan del Sur to Panamá was laid.¹⁰⁷

In 1880 the Central and South American Telegraph Company agreed to lay a submarine cable from Callao to the United States by way of Eten, Paita, and Panamá. Its agreement with the Peruvian Government provided that the work should be completed by May 15, 1882. A stipulation was made that the tariff from Callao to North America should be two *soles*. The work of laying submarine cables on the Pacific shores of South America was started by the Central and South American Telegraph Company at Chorillos, near Callao. According to the Peruvian historian Paz Soldán, a submarine cable was laid from Chorillos to Paita in February, 1882; from Paita to Santa Elena on the Ecuadorian coast in May of that year; and from

¹⁰⁵ Rebello, pp. 9, 10.

¹⁰⁶ Bright, *Submarine Telegraphs*, p. 116, n.

¹⁰⁷ Paz Soldán, *La telegrafía eléctrica en el Perú*, p. 76.

Santa Elena to Buenaventura, Colombia, in the following month. In June, 1882, the line was completed to Panamá. The Central and South American Telegraph Company constructed a telegraph line from Santa Elena to Guayaquil in the same month that it completed the submarine line from San Juan del Sur to Panamá.¹⁰⁸ That company also built a line across the Isthmus from Panamá to Aspinwall. Subsequently cables were laid from Aspinwall to New York City, via Guantanomo, Cuba.

In 1891 this company laid a cable by way of Iquique and Antofagasta to Valparaiso and a land line thence to Santiago. At the same time it purchased the trans-Andean telegraph company's line from Valparaiso and Santiago to Buenos Aires. After having thus secured independent telegraphic communication with certain Spanish-American capitals, the Central and South American Telegraph Company ultimately reached Rio de Janeiro by lines through southeastern Brazil.¹⁰⁹ Cables of this company rest upon the bottom of the Pacific Ocean at a depth of eighteen thousand feet, while its trans-Andean line crosses the cordillera at a height of twelve thousand feet above sea level. An estimate has been made that the Mexican Telegraph Company and the Central and South American Telegraph Company together control about two thousand miles of land lines in Hispanic-American countries and over seventeen thousand miles of submarine cables. A writer in *La nación* of Buenos Aires has stated that when the last mentioned company began to operate its lines in 1882 the cable rate between Buenos Aires and the United States was seven dollars and a half per word, while the rate charged in 1916 was sixty-nine cents per word.¹¹⁰

The "All America Cables"—as the Mexican Telegraph Company connecting with the Central and South American Telegraph Company was designated—has, since Marconi's invention, been supplemented by wireless service. A Pan-

¹⁰⁸ Paz Soldán, p. 76.

¹⁰⁹ Bright, "The Extension of Submarine Telegraphy in a Quarter-Century," in *Engineering Magazine*, vol. xvi, p. 423.

¹¹⁰ *La nación: número especial en el centenario de la proclamación de la independencia, 1816-9 de Julio—1916*, p. 764.

American Wireless Telegraph and Telephone Company has recently been incorporated in the United States.

Alert mining engineers from the United States have prospected in many parts of Hispanic America. Various companies composed of United States citizens have been formed for the exploitation of Hispanic-American mines. This chapter will only consider certain mining companies operating in Hispanic America which are managed by citizens of the United States who are incorporated in that country, or who are virtually domiciled there through a holding or controlling company.

Since the downfall of Díaz mining operations in Mexico have been much interrupted. This account will consider the most important companies which operate there under normal conditions. In a rich mining district in central Mexico the Guanajuato Consolidated Mining and Milling Company, which is incorporated in West Virginia with a capital of three million dollars, owns some silver and gold mines that have not been fully worked in recent years because of revolutionary disturbances.¹¹¹ Near Fronteras in the state of Sonora the Consolidated Sonora Mines Company with a capital of three million five hundred thousand dollars owns mines containing gold, lead, and silver, which because of revolutionary disturbances, were closed in 1913.¹¹² The Puebla Smelting and Refining Company, incorporated in Delaware with a capital of five million dollars, owns large mining properties in the state of Puebla, which, since 1913, have not been worked.¹¹³ Incorporated in New Jersey with a capital of one million dollars the Tezuitlan Copper Mining and Smelting Company has valuable mining properties in the states of Puebla and Oaxaca, Mexico, which closed down in 1913.¹¹⁴ The Pacific Smelting and Mining Company, incorporated in Maine with a capital of eight million dollars, controls the stock of various corporations in Mexico which own mining properties that have been only partly developed.¹¹⁵ The Choix Consolidated Mining Company, incorporated in Arizona with a capital of five million dollars, controls mining

¹¹¹ Weed, *International Edition the Mines Handbook*, vol. XIII, pp. 1644, 1645.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 1677.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1666-68.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 1668, 1669.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 1695-97.

property in the state of Chihuahua which in recent years has been unworked because of revolutionary disturbances.¹¹⁶ These figures will suggest the great financial interests which citizens of the United States have at stake in Mexico.

The most important mining organization of the United States now operating in Mexico is probably the Greene-Cananea Copper Company. That company was incorporated in Minnesota in 1906 with a capital of sixty million dollars. It was a holding corporation which gained control of various companies that owned Mexican copper mines. Those companies were the Greene Consolidated Copper Company and the San Pedro Copper Company. The Greene-Cananea Copper Company thus secured mining properties in the Cananea Mountains near the headwaters of the San Pedro and Sonora rivers in the northern part of the province of Sonora. Its most important mines were Veta Grande, Oversight, and Capote, which contained large bodies of high grade copper ore disseminated with some gold and silver in porphyry and granite. Power for the operation of the mines was distributed from an electric plant. The company operated thirty-six miles of railway and also a water system, an electric light system, and a telephone system in the mining town of Cananea, where it had residences and rooming houses for its employees. In the *Mines Handbook* for 1918 W. H. Weed declared that in 1916 the company produced over forty-eight million pounds of copper, almost one and one-half million ounces of silver, and eight thousand seven hundred ounces of gold.¹¹⁷

The mining resources of Central America are, as yet, comparatively undeveloped. A number of old mines were re-opened by miners from the United States in the latter part of the last century. But the sharp decline in the price of silver caused many of those mines to be abandoned.¹¹⁸ At present the most important corporation in the United States that is engaged in

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1671.

¹¹⁷ Weed, vol. XIII, pp. 1681-88. Since the above lines were written, the mining industry in certain sections of Mexico has evidently revived somewhat. See Middleton, *Industrial Mexico, 1919, Facts and Figures*, pp. 61-64. On the interest of United States citizens in Mexican oil, see *Daily Consular and Trade Reports*, October 7, 1918, p. 87.

¹¹⁸ Munro, p. 127.

the mining industry in Central America is the New York and Honduras Rosario Mining Company which was incorporated in the state of New York in 1880 with a capital of two million dollars. That company has mines at San Juancito in Honduras. According to Weed, it owns twenty-five square miles of gold and silver mining land at that point, besides prospecting rights over four hundred square miles of territory on Chile Mountain.¹¹⁹ In 1917 the company extracted from its ores almost fifteen thousand ounces of gold and over one and one-half million ounces of silver.¹²⁰ This silver forms a large part of the exports of Honduras. The equipment of the company includes a three hundred and fifty ton stamp mill, a cyanide plant, and a hydro-electric plant. It supports an hotel, a school, and a hospital for its employees. Its total bullion production from 1882 to 1916 has been estimated at \$22,726,082.¹²¹

During the present century, in particular, capitalists in the United States have become deeply interested in valuable mining properties in South America. At the opening of this century an American syndicate which was incorporated in New Jersey purchased a large number of small holdings in the celebrated Cerro de Pasco district of Peru where silver mines had been worked for centuries. In that district was located the largest and richest deposit of copper ore in Peru, as well as other ores such as silver, gold, and lead. As suggested in the preceding chapter, under the auspices of the Cerro de Pasco Mining Company the railroad was built from Oroya to Cerro de Pasco, and thus in 1904 that mining center was connected by rail with Callao. Meantime the company took steps to establish a modern mining plant upon a large scale. Machinery, engineers, and skilled workmen were sent to Peru from the United States. At Tinyahuarco, some distance from the mines, the company established a smelter which was fourteen thousand feet above sea level. It secured a concession for the establishment of an electric power plant near the Yanahuance River.

¹¹⁹ Weed, vol. XIII, pp. 1794, 1795.

¹²⁰ *New York and Honduras Rosario Mining Co., thirty-seventh annual report*, p. 9.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, *passim*; Weed, vol. XIII, p. 1795. For other mining interests of citizens or corporations of the United States in Mexico and Central America, see *ibid.*, *passim*.

It exploited coal deposits at Goyllarisquisga to secure fuel for its furnaces. The Peruvian engineer, C. A. Velarde, declared that in 1907 the company employed over one thousand workmen; and he estimated its daily output of copper ore at about five hundred tons.¹²² In the *Mines Handbook* for 1918 Weed declared that this company owned over seventy thousand acres of land and almost one thousand mining claims; it supported hotels for native and North American labor, besides a well-equipped club house. He stated that in 1916 this plant produced seventy-one million four hundred and fifty-two thousand pounds of copper. That writer declared that the Cerro de Pasco plant was "the most expensive copper proposition ever developed," as the total investment was almost twenty-five million dollars.¹²³

Other important mines that are being developed by capital from the United States are in Chile. In 1913 the Bethlehem-Chile Iron Mines Company, a subsidiary of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, acquired from a French company the Tofo iron mines which are about thirty miles from Coquimbo. The Tofo iron deposits crop out of the earth near a mountain range which is only a few miles from the seacoast. Upon taking control of these mines, C. A. Buck, president of the Bethlehem-Chile Company, estimated that there were some twenty-five million tons of iron ore in sight showing about sixty-eight per cent of a Bessemer composition.¹²⁴ In the following year the company proceeded to explore and equip the property: a pipe line and water works were installed; roads were constructed, and tunnels were dug. Ore was transported from the mines to Cruz Grande Bay by an aerial tramway and there transferred to vessels by a cantilever loading bridge. A contract was made with a Chilean firm for the construction of a railroad from the mine to the docks; another contract was made with a New York firm for the construction of a basin dock in Cruz Grande Bay; and an arrangement was made with the General Electric Com-

¹²² Velarde, *La minería en el Perú*, vol. I, pp. xxiii, xxiv, xxvi, 99, 108, 109.

¹²³ Weed, vol. XIII, pp. 1852-55.

¹²⁴ Buck, "The Tofo Iron Mines, Chile," in *Engineering and Mining Journal*, vol. xcvi, p. 82.

pany of Schenectady for the installation of an electric power plant. Twenty-one thousand tons of ore were shipped to Europe in 1914, while six cargoes of iron ore, aggregating forty-two thousand tons were shipped to Philadelphia.¹²⁵ Iron ore from the Tofo mines has been dumped at the Bethlehem steel works at a price to compete with ore from Lake Superior.

In 1909 the Braden Copper Mines Company was incorporated in Delaware for the exploitation of low grade copper ores which were located near Rancagua, about ninety miles from Santiago. Its subsidiary, the Braden Copper Company, built a narrow gauge railroad from Rancagua to its mining property in the Andes, eight thousand feet above the level of the sea.¹²⁶ This company built a power station, power line, and a reduction plant. By 1917 it had secured possession of mining lands by claim and by purchase which amounted to about six thousand acres. The average number of tons of ore milled per day in that year was 4,931 as compared with 3,733 for 1916.¹²⁷ Not only had the company erected a large modern plant at a mining town called Braden, but it had also built dwelling houses, hospitals, and club houses. Weed states in the *Mines Handbook* for 1918 that the ore reserves of the Braden Copper Company which were known would last thirty-five years, if ore extraction were carried on at the rate of ten thousand tons per day.¹²⁸ The achievements of this company furnished an example to another copper mining enterprise in Chile.

During the second decade of this century the Guggenheim family—members of which were connected with the mines at Braden—became interested in the development of a mammoth holding in the Lampara copper district at Chuquicamata, near Calama, in the Chilean province of Antofagasta. Early in 1912 the Chile Exploration Company was incorporated in New Jersey. The directors of that company purchased properties at Chuquicamata which were located over nine thousand feet

¹²⁵ Buck, "The Tofo Iron Mines in 1914," in *Engineering and Mining Journal*, vol. xcix, pp. 145, 146.

¹²⁶ Douglass and Cooley, "Metallurgical Operations at the Braden Copper Co.," in *Engineering and Mining Journal*, vol. ci, p. 315.

¹²⁷ *Third Annual Report, Braden Copper Mines Company*, pp. 10, 12.

¹²⁸ Weed, vol. xiii, p. 1840.

above the sea. In April, 1913, fifteen million dollars worth of bonds of the Chile Copper Company, the holding corporation for the Chile Exploration Company, were placed upon the market. Work was immediately begun on a metallurgical plant with capacity to handle ten thousand tons of ore every day. The copper deposit in the desert at Chuquicamata was estimated to hold some ninety-five million tons of ore which averaged a little over two per cent copper. Because of the low per cent of copper in the ore, the company undertook to treat it by a new process. That was, after the ore had been mined by steam or electric shovels, to transport it to a mill where it should be crushed and then leached with sulphuric acid solution in enormous concrete tanks. Electric power for the treatment of the ore had to be transmitted from a plant on the coast at Tocopilla, eighty-four miles distant, while water had to be brought thirty-seven miles or more by pipe line. This unique plant started to operate on May 18, 1915.¹²⁹

In the first seven and one-half months of operation the Chuquicamata plant treated over six hundred and twenty-five thousand tons of copper ore, from which were produced over five thousand four hundred tons of refined copper ready for market. It produced over twenty thousand tons of marketable copper in 1916. The average cost of the production of copper in that year, including sale, delivery, and miscellaneous expenses, was evidently a little under fifteen and one-half cents per pound, while the gross price for copper delivered was over twenty-five cents.¹³⁰ Over two million nine hundred thousand tons of ore were treated in 1917, which produced over forty-four thousand tons of copper. In the last quarter of that year the average daily amount of ore treated was nine thousand two hundred tons.¹³¹ The feasibility of the electrolytic process for the handling of low grade copper ores in enormous quantities was thus fully demonstrated.

During 1916 the Chile Exploration Company carried on an

¹²⁹ *First Annual Report, Chile Copper Company*, pp. 7, 8; Yeatman "Mine of Chile Exploration Co., Chuquicamata, Chile," in *Engineering and Mining Journal*, vol. ci, p. 307.

¹³⁰ *First Annual Report, Chile Copper Company*, p. 12.

¹³¹ *Second Annual Report, Chile Copper Company*, p. 15.

investigation of its ore reserves at Chuquicamata. Its consulting mining engineer reached the conclusion that the ore in sight amounted to over three hundred and fifty-four million tons, and that there was about as much ore under ground.¹³² Hence the directors of the company decided to enlarge the plant to a capacity of twenty-seven thousand tons of ore per day. In August, 1916, the Chile Exploration Company purchased the properties of the Mining Company of Calama which, in part, adjoined the Chuquicamata mines.¹³³ Then by purchase and by concessions from the Chilean Government the company acquired other lands which were to be used for the disposal of tailings.¹³⁴ In 1917 the managing engineer said that almost all of the drills, steam shovels, and locomotives were manned by Chileans. For the company established at Chuquicamata a mining town which in December, 1917, had over nine thousand inhabitants. To accommodate its employees the company erected about sixteen hundred houses. It established a hospital and a school for the Chilean children. Early in 1917 it opened a school for the children of United States citizens. Special quarters and a club house were provided for engineers from the United States. The managing engineer stated in 1918 that a new Chilean village with a church, a store, a market place, a plaza, and a band stand was being erected.¹³⁵

Not only has a corporation of the United States undertaken the exploitation of the largest deposit of copper ore known in the world, but that company has also created at Chuquicamata a unique mining town. Further, as a result of the exploration of extensive copper deposits by the Andes Copper Mining Company, a subsidiary of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, that corporation has undertaken to establish a huge copper mining plant at Potrerillos, Chile, which is separated from the coast by the desert of Atacama¹³⁶—a plant which may rival that at Chuquicamata.

United States companies are also engaged in the develop-

¹³² First Annual Report, Chile Copper Company, pp. 8, 9.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 11.

¹³⁴ Second Annual Report, Chile Copper Company, p. 11.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 17.

¹³⁶ Harding, "Andes Copper Mining Cos'. Development at Potrerillos, Chile," in *Engineering and Mining Journal*, vol. cv, pp. 137-39.

ment of gold mines in South America. D. G. Bricker, a citizen of the United States, succeeded in relocating two lode mines in Bolivia which had formerly been worked by the Spaniards. One of those, the Olla de Oro mine, became the property of an English company. The other, the Incaoro mine, located in a small valley at Pallaya near the headwaters of the Tipuani River, over one hundred miles by trail from La Paz, passed into the possession of the Incaoro Mines Company of Delaware. At its mine that company set up an amalgamation and concentration mill with a hydro-electric power plant. In 1918 the president of the Incaoro Company was H. G. Knowles, formerly United States minister to Bolivia. The laborers in this mine were Aymará Indians.¹³⁷

Deposits of auriferous alluvium and conglomerate, where gold washing was carried on in the age of the Incas are also found in the valley of the Tipuani River. Considerable gold was collected during the colonial regime near the hamlet of Sorata. In 1915 the Bolivia Gold Exploration Company, a corporation with its headquarters at Denver, Colorado, secured control of about four hundred acres of the best placer land in that part of the Tipuani Valley where Indians, Spaniards, and Portuguese formerly sought for gold. The company's intention was to secure the gold which had been left near the surface as well as that below the water level which the ancient miners had been unable to collect. This company, which established an office at Sorata, soon began to examine the physical condition of its properties, to make surveys for ditches and pipe lines, and to design hydraulic equipment suitable for transportation into the interior of Bolivia. That equipment had to be shipped from San Francisco to Mollendo, transported by rail and steamboat to La Paz, and thence conveyed to Tipuani upon the backs of mules or Indians along lonely trails, across the continental divide and over a mountain pass seventeen thousand four hundred feet high—"the worst trail in America."¹³⁸ According

¹³⁷ Schneider, "Mineral Industry of South America with Special Reference to Bolivia," in *Mining Science*, vol. LXXI, p. 32; Lincoln, "Gold Mining in Bolivia," in *Engineering and Mining Journal*, vol. XCIX, pp. 352, 353.

¹³⁸ Schneider, "Mineral Industry of South America with special Reference to Bolivia," *loc. cit.*, vol. LXXI, pp. 32-37.

to the report of G. W. Schneider, president and general manager of the company, on April 1, 1916, several hydraulic elevators, a sawmill, and an electric light plant were at that date either at Tipuani or in close proximity thereto. A small amount of gold had been secured through testing operations and by Indian workmen.¹³⁹

An important mining industry of United States citizens is located in Venezuela. On September 15, 1883, E. R. Hamilton made a contract with the Venezuelan Government which conceded to him the right to exploit forests in the state of Bermúdez. The second article of the contract provided that Hamilton should also have the right to exploit the asphalt in that state. He was granted the privilege of importing the machinery and supplies for this exploitation free of duty. In return Hamilton agreed to pay a tax upon the forest products and the asphalt which might be secured.¹⁴⁰ About two years later he transferred his rights and obligations to the New York and Bermúdez Company which soon began operations. That company discovered in northeastern Venezuela a large asphalt lake covering about one thousand acres. Near the southern end of the lake it built a railway and wharves whence vessels laden with asphalt might proceed down the Río Francés to the sea.¹⁴¹

Subsequently the New York and Bermúdez Company transferred its rights to the General Asphalt Company, a United States corporation. That corporation also secured concessions for oil rights near the asphalt lake and in western Venezuela. In 1912 a subsidiary company, the Caribbean Petroleum Company, secured a concession from the Venezuelan Government for extensive petroleum rights in a dozen states.¹⁴² Oil men from the United States are drilling for petroleum in western Venezuela and northern Colombia.

Until recently the banking facilities which citizens of the

¹³⁹ Schneider, *Report of the President and General Manager of the Bolivia Gold Exploration Company*, April 1, 1916.

¹⁴⁰ *Gaceta oficial*, Caracas, July 21, 1884.

¹⁴¹ Bance, *Defensa de la New York & Bermúdez Company ante la corte federal de Venezuela*, pp. 13-15.

¹⁴² Halsey, *Investments in Latin America and the British West Indies*, pp. 389-92.

United States might enjoy in Hispanic America from their own bankers were limited. Grace and Company of New York City carried on banking operations in certain cities of South America in connection with their mercantile business. The Mercantile Bank of the Americas, organized under the auspices of Brown Brothers and Company, J. W. Seligman and Company, and the Guaranty Trust Company of New York City also carried on a general banking business in several Hispanic-American countries. This bank did not really compete with United States banks for home business, but acted rather as an agency to develop commercial operations with various foreign countries. In Central America it was affiliated with the National Bank of Nicaragua, in Ecuador with the Mercantile Oversea Corporation, in Peru with the *Banco Mercantil Americano del Perú*, and in Colombia with the firm of Pineda López. It also had agencies in Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Costa Rica, Venezuela, and Chile.¹⁴³

Commercial and industrial undertakings of citizens of the United States in Hispanic-American countries have frequently been hindered because of the absence in those countries of branches or agencies of their home banks. That was a serious handicap in countries where English and German banks had been established. The Federal Reserve Act, which became a law on December 23, 1913, made it possible to remove that handicap. Section fourteen of this act gave to every federal reserve bank the right:

To establish accounts with other federal reserve banks for exchange purposes and, with the consent of the Federal Reserve Board, to open and maintain banking accounts in foreign countries, appoint correspondents, and establish agencies in such countries wheresoever it may deem best for the purpose of purchasing, selling, and collecting bills of exchange, and to buy and sell with or without its endorsement, through such correspondents or agencies, bills of exchange arising out of actual commercial transactions which have not more than ninety days to run and which bear the signature of two or more responsible parties.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ *Mercantile Bank of the Americas.*

¹⁴⁴ *Statutes at Large of the United States*, vol. xxxviii, pt. I., p. 265.

In addition, the act provided that federal reserve banks might purchase and sell in the open market certain kinds of "cable transfers and bankers' acceptances and bills of exchange"; that these banks might deal in gold bullion, and make loans thereon; and that they might buy and sell at home or abroad "bonds and notes of the United States."¹⁴⁵

Of this act Paul M. Warburg said that it marked "the advent of our financial independence." For it not only enabled the bankers of the United States to finance import and export transactions of that country themselves; but it also enabled them to finance commercial transactions between Hispanic-American nations and European countries.¹⁴⁶ Most important of all, a section of that act authorized national banks of the United States with a capital and surplus of one million dollars to establish branch banks in dependencies of the United States or in foreign countries.¹⁴⁷ In accordance with that section the National City Bank of New York soon obtained permission to establish branches in South American cities. The Government of Argentina granted that bank permission to establish a branch at Buenos Aires which was opened in the building of the *Bolsa de comercio* on November 10, 1914.¹⁴⁸ This was the first branch of a national bank of the United States which was established in a foreign country. On April 5, 1915, branches of the National City Bank were opened at Rio de Janeiro and at Santos, Brazil.¹⁴⁹ Subsequently other branches were established in Cuba. Upon the South American continent branches were also opened at Bahia, São Paulo, Montevideo, Rosario, Santiago, Valparaiso, and Caracas. Those banks were equipped to perform the services ordinarily performed by banks in the United States. They were also prepared to make investigations of commercial or industrial enterprises which afforded promising investments for capital. Many, if not all, of those branches, were organized to study South American markets in order to furnish information to commercial and manufacturing

¹⁴⁵ *Statutes at Large of the United States*, vol. XXXVIII, p. 264.

¹⁴⁶ *Proceedings of the First Pan American Financial Conference*, p. 168.

¹⁴⁷ *Statutes at Large of the United States*, vol. XXXVIII, p. 273.

¹⁴⁸ *The Americas*, vol. 1, no. 2, p. 19. ¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 7, p. 6.

organizations in the United States. Each of those branches has been a factor in promoting the use in Hispanic-American commercial transactions of "dollar credit."

Closely affiliated with the National City Bank is the American International Corporation. That corporation was organized by prominent bankers, business men, and engineers of the United States. Upon submitting to those men the project for the corporation, F. A. Vanderlip, president of the National City Bank, described the conditions which had promoted its formation. Vanderlip pointed out that the changes produced by the World War had brought to the United States "new responsibilities and extraordinary opportunities"; that, especially in the field of finance, the nation must "begin to think internationally"; and that this nation ought to organize "some new corporate instruments" for her new work. At a juncture when the "fountains of capital" in Europe had ceased to flow it would be advantageous for the United States to form the machinery which might enable her capital freely to flow into investments in other countries. The United States should cease to be financially "a provincial people."¹⁵⁰

The American International Corporation was incorporated in 1915 under the laws of the state of New York with a capital of fifty million dollars, which was taken by stockholders of the National City Bank of New York and by other banks and various industrial organizations. Its charter authorized it to carry on business, subject to the laws of the various states in which it might operate. That corporation might "own and operate, or buy and sell, shipping, railroads, street car lines, lighting and water plants, docks, warehouses, mines, factories, and mercantile establishments." It might organize "such enterprises, start them and as going concerns offer their securities to the public," or it might "hold and operate those companies as subsidiaries and sell its own securities to the public, based upon these properties." In the words of an inspired article in the *Americas*, "the American International Corporation will be

¹⁵⁰ "The New Machinery for American Financing Abroad," in *The Americas*, vol. II, no. 2, p. 2.

able to use every means for the employment of capital in world-commerce and industry."¹⁵¹ F. A. Vanderlip was made chairman of its board of directors, while Charles A. Stone of the engineering firm of Stone and Webster of Boston was made president of the corporation. Other officers of this corporation represented well-known banking and business organizations in the United States.

Although seriously handicapped by the entry of the United States into the World War and the consequent dislocation of its plans, this unique corporation has already promoted United States industrial enterprise in foreign lands. A most important work in Hispanic America which it financed and brought to a successful termination was in Uruguay. In that progressive state, before the opening of the World War, under the authority of the Uruguayan Government, a French company had undertaken to construct modern water works and sewerage systems in the cities of Salto, Mercedes, and Paysandú. When the war made it impossible for that company to execute its contract the Ulen Contracting Company of Chicago undertook to carry out the projected plans.¹⁵² As the cost of construction, which amounted to five million dollars, was to be paid by the national government of Uruguay in government bonds, the Ulen Contracting Company asked the American International Corporation for assistance. In February, 1916, after an investigation of the situation, that corporation agreed to enter into a tripartite agreement for the prosecution of the enterprise. This agreement was that the corporation should purchase about four million dollars of the bonds; that the Ulen Contracting Company should install the sanitary improvements, while Stone and Webster should supervise the work: each of those firms purchasing a part of the Uruguayan securities in excess of four million dollars which were required for the fulfillment of the contract.

Immediately upon the completion of this arrangement,

¹⁵¹ "The New Machinery for American Financing Abroad," *loc. cit.*, vol. II, no. 2, p. 2.

¹⁵² "How a Big Construction Order for Uruguay was Organized," in *The Americas*, vol. III, no. 2, p. 25.

Stone and Webster and the Ulen Company selected engineers, superintendents, and foremen to go to Uruguay.¹⁵³ Steps were taken to gather in the United States the implements and machinery which were necessary for the work of construction. Freight rates to Uruguay rose so rapidly that the contractors decided to purchase a sailing schooner, the *Alice M. Colburn*, and to charter three other vessels to transport the supplies to Uruguay. Thousands of tons of material were taken by those vessels from Savannah to Uruguayan ports by way of the African coast. Work was officially started on the sanitary improvements at Salto in July, 1916, in the presence of representatives of the Uruguayan Government. A few months later work was begun at Paysandú and Mercedes.¹⁵⁴ The manual labor on the water and sewerage plants was performed by natives of Uruguay. A remark attributed to the Uruguayan secretary of public works concerning the Ulen Company will suggest the spirit in which it carried out the plans: "That is the remarkable thing about you North Americans. You come down here and make a cement pipe in thirty seconds when it used to take us thirty minutes to make the same thing—and now you say that you will finish your contract a year sooner than the time we have allowed you."¹⁵⁵ Eighty miles of pipe were made and laid in the three cities and, despite the increased cost of materials, the expense of construction was within the estimates. It is worthy of notice that, in April, 1917, an agent of the American International Corporation was in negotiations with Colombians about sanitary improvements in Bogotá,—negotiations which were suspended upon the declaration that a state of war existed between the United States and the government of the German Empire.

W. R. Grace and Company, whose activities in Hispanic America have been of a most varied character, may not be passed without mention. The founder of this firm, W. R. Grace, who was born in Queenstown, Ireland, in 1832,¹⁵⁶ landed

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, *Bulletin of the American International Corporation*, vol. I, no. 3, pp. 18-25.

¹⁵⁵ *Bulletin of the American International Corporation*, vol. I, no. 3, p. 33.

¹⁵⁶ *The New York Tribune*, March 22, 1904.

in America at an early age.¹⁵⁷ The lad found employment with the English mercantile house of John Bryce at Callao. Forced by poor health to leave Peru in 1864, W. R. Grace took up his residence in New York City where, in the following year, he opened a mercantile house which established relations with the house of John Bryce. Meantime his brother Michael entered the service of the Bryce firm and eventually the Grace brothers purchased the Bryce interests. Before the outbreak of the war between Chile and Peru the Grace brothers had established branches in several cities on the Pacific coast of South America. In Peru, at least, they had become a commercial power.¹⁵⁸ But the war between the South American states on the Pacific destroyed a large part of their business which, after 1883, had to be built anew.

After the close of the War of the Pacific the Grace brothers decided to establish a branch in Chile. About that time they were requested by the corporation of Peruvian bondholders in England to adjust Peru's foreign debt. For that purpose they organized the Peruvian Corporation in London and established a branch in that city. Under a contract drawn by Grace and Company an arrangement was made by which the Peruvian bondholders released the government from all responsibility for the loans of 1869, 1870, and 1872: in return for which Peru ceded to the bondholders her railroads, guano beds, etc., for sixty-six years.¹⁵⁹ The Grace interests purchased a sugar plantation in northern Peru, established a cotton mill near Lima, and gained control of a nitrate bed in Chile. W. R. Grace promoted commercial relations between the United States and South America by maintaining a line of vessels between New York and Pacific ports. Through the financial support accorded by W. R. Grace and Company the tunnel at the summit of the trans-Andean railroad between Santiago and Mendoza was successfully completed in 1910. On October 13, 1917, the *Santa Ana*, the first of a United States line of nitrate

¹⁵⁷ Grace, "Evolution of W. R. Grace & Co.," in the *Grace Log*, vol. 1, no. 2, p. 5.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6; *Seventeenth Annual General Report of the Council of the Corporation of Foreign Bondholders*, p. 125.

vessels destined to carry on a freight and passenger service between New York and Valparaiso was launched by Grace and Company at the Cramps shipyards in Philadelphia.¹⁶⁰ This ceremony marked the inauguration of a direct passenger line from the United States to the Pacific coast of South America through the Panamá Canal.

Aside from the industrial enterprises of the United States in Hispanic-American countries which have been described in more or less detail, there are many other industries that have been established or promoted in those countries by citizens of the United States. The postage stamps and paper currencies of several Hispanic-American states have been manufactured by the American Bank Note Company of New York City. Meat packers of the United States have established refrigerator plants in the basin of la Plata River. In Mexico steel plows manufactured in the United States have oftentimes displaced wooden plows like those used in the days of the Pharaohs. Into some Hispanic-American cities, notably Panamá and Santo Domingo City, modern improvements, such as electric lights, sewers, street cars, and telephones, have been introduced through the direct or indirect influence of United States citizens. In some favored sections factories and mills have been set up by Yankee enterprise. A detailed consideration of the widely extended industrial influence which the United States has exerted in Hispanic-American countries would indeed lead us into endless vistas.

One indication of the forces behind that influence may be found in a list of depositors of the National City Bank of New York. In 1915 that bank published a directory of its depositors which contained the names of over three hundred individuals or firms that were interested in commercial relations between the United States and the countries of Hispanic America.¹⁶¹ An index to the industrial interest of the United States in Hispanic America may be found in the amount of her capital

¹⁶⁰ "The Newest Nitrate Carrier begins First Passenger Service New York to the West Coast," in the *Grace Log*, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 17.

¹⁶¹ *Diretório comercial de depositadores interesados en el negocio extranjero con la América Latina, The National City Bank of New York, 1915.*

invested in that section. Although it is practically impossible to secure exact figures concerning such investments, yet a few estimates will suggest their approximate amount and distribution. A Mexican writer, Santibáñez, has estimated that in 1915 there was \$1,057,700,000 of United States capital invested in Mexico. Other Hispanic-American countries in which Santibáñez estimated that the United States had a large financial interest were as follows: Cuba with \$150,000,000; Peru with \$53,000,000; Brazil with \$50,000,000; Argentina with \$40,000,000; Guatemala with \$2,000,000; Chile with \$15,000,000; and Ecuador and Bolivia with \$10,000,000 apiece. According to his figures, the smallest amount of capital that the United States had invested in any single country was \$2,000,000 in Colombia. Santibáñez estimated that in 1915 there was invested in all the countries of Hispanic America an aggregate capital belonging to citizens of the United States amounting to \$1,442,500,000, an amount which exceeded the total investments in Hispanic America of any other nation except England.¹⁶²

There remains to notice briefly the construction of the canal across the Isthmus of Panamá. As that canal was constructed through territory under the jurisdiction of the United States, a detailed description of that work would naturally fall outside of the limits of this volume. Yet it can not be passed without mention. We have seen that by virtue of a treaty negotiated with Panamá the Government of the United States secured control of a zone of land across the Isthmus for canal purposes. By an arrangement with the Panamá Canal Company that government purchased its rights to canal property. Through authority conferred by a law of Congress the Panamá Canal was constructed under the direction of a commission of seven men who were appointed by the President. In 1906 the important decision was reached to make the canal not a sea level canal but a lock canal. As the chairman of the canal com-

¹⁶² Santibáñez, *Geografía comercial de las naciones latino americanas*, p. 227. Another estimate of the capital invested by the United States in certain countries is found in Halsey, pp. 214, 223, 437. A detailed estimate of investments by citizens of the United States in Mexico in 1912 is found in *Daily Consular and Trade Reports*, July 18, 1912, p. 316.

mission there served successively Admiral John G. Walker, Theodore P. Shonts, and Major George W. Goethals. The construction of the canal was ultimately placed in charge of United States army and navy engineers: the work was divided into three sections, the Atlantic division, the Pacific division, and the central division. The Atlantic division undertook the construction of breakwaters in the harbor of Colón, the excavation of the canal from the Atlantic Ocean to Gatun, and the construction of the locks and the dam at Gatun. The Pacific division was assigned the labor of constructing the locks and dams at Pedro Miguel and Miraflores and excavating the canal from Miraflores to Panamá.¹⁶³

On August 24, 1912, a bill was signed by the President of the United States which provided for the opening and operation of the Panamá Canal and for the administration of the Canal Zone. This law provided that when the canal was completed, the zone should be placed under the control of a governor appointed by the President. In accordance with that act Colonel Goethals became first governor of the Canal Zone on April 1, 1914. The total cost of construction of the canal, a marvel of modern engineering achievement, including all payments made in connection with it, was over three hundred and fifty million dollars. It was opened to traffic on August 15, 1914. The opening of that canal between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans reduced the distance between ports in the United States and many ports in Hispanic-American countries by hundreds of miles. Thus the canal was destined to become a potent factor in the commercial relations between the United States and Hispanic America. In the latter part of 1916 the major part of the commerce passing through the Panamá Canal was composed of exports from the United States to Hispanic America and of imports into that country from Hispanic-American states. The possession and fortification of that canal virtually invested the United States with a dominant interest in the Panamá Republic and gave her control of a strategic position in the New World.

¹⁶³ Goethals, *The Panamá Canal*, vol. I, *passim*.

CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATIONAL CONTACT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS

Emigration from the United States to Hispanic-American countries—The Influence of United States writers in Hispanic America—Domingo F. Sarmiento as an apostle of educational reform in Chile and Argentina—José P. Varela in Uruguay—Hispanic-American students in the United States—Methodist missions, churches, and educational institutions in Hispanic-American Countries—Presbyterian activities—Other Protestant sects—The American Bible Society—The Young Men's Christian Association—A statistical summary of Protestant organizations of the United States in Hispanic-American countries—The attitude of the United States toward the struggle for religious liberty in Chile, Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia.

The social structure of Hispanic America originally differed from that of the United States in manifold ways. For the genius of the Hispanic American is ordinarily different from that of the person whom he styles the North American, the Anglo American, or the Yankee. Only in those parts of Hispanic America where an element of population similar to that which emigrated to the United States predominates, do intellectual conditions—to say nothing of social, economic, or political conditions—tend to approximate those in the United States. It is the purpose of this chapter to describe the manner in which the United States has affected the Hispanic-American nations through emigration, literary ideals, school systems, religious faiths, and ideals of religious liberty, all of which may in a broad sense be termed educational influences.

The earliest emigrants from the United States to Spanish-American countries were doubtless some adventurous persons who enlisted under the banners of such leaders as Morelos, Bolívar, and San Martín. During the revolutionary era, or soon afterwards, a few citizens of the United States who were interested in trade or commerce settled in commercial cities of Spanish America. Such immigrants were mentioned in diplomatic

correspondence and in the reports of travelers. Some of those persons became citizens of the new states by naturalization. In Great Colombia, at least, the attitude of the government toward those immigrants was favorable: on June 11, 1823, a law was enacted declaring that the ingress of Europeans and citizens of the United States ought to be encouraged; it provided that public lands should be allotted for distribution among such immigrants.¹

In some instances the descendants of consular, diplomatic, or mercantile agents from the United States have married into Hispanic-American families. After Lee's soldiers laid down their arms at Appomattox some discontented Southerners left their native land for Brazil. At one time or another enterprising citizens of the United States have settled in the fertile Cauca Valley in Colombia. During the rule of President Díaz it seemed as though a strong tide of emigration would set in from the United States to Mexico. Absorbed in the colossal task of winning their own West, however, few citizens of the United States dreamed of making settlements under the Southern Cross until their own frontier had disappeared. When it is remembered that many United States citizens have left Mexico because of the revolutionary disturbances of recent years, and when it is understood that some persons who emigrated to South America have returned to the United States believing that they can not make progress in a new country without an established profession or considerable capital for investment, it will be realized that the net emigration from the United States to Hispanic-American states has not been large.

An illustration from southern South America will make this general tendency clearer. It is the estimate of an Argentine writer that from 1857 to 1880 perhaps fifteen hundred emigrants from the United States landed in Buenos Aires. Argentine statistics show that from 1880 to 1915 about sixty-one hundred persons emigrated from the United States to Argentina. As the total number of immigrants who entered Argentina before 1915 has been reckoned at six million souls, the rate of emigration

¹ *Cuerpo de leyes de la república de Colombia*, vol. II, p. 15.

from the United States was only a small fraction of one per cent. In 1910 an Argentine scholar calculated that of 6,805,684 inhabitants in his country there were 2,936 citizens of the United States, or .43 of one per cent. A writer in the special number of *La nación* which was published in 1916 estimated that of a population of eight million in Argentina there were about thirty-six hundred citizens of the United States.² Most of those persons, however, were engaged in commercial or industrial enterprises, or in such professions as medicine, dentistry, and engineering; hence their influence upon the social life of Argentina was undoubtedly in a much greater ratio than their numbers. Moreover, it is clear that journalists and publicists of the Hispanic-American states, especially since the age of Alberdi, have sometimes tried to draw instructive lessons from the immigration policy of the United States. Attempts have indeed been made by certain South Americans to stimulate their governments to carry on a propaganda to encourage immigration from that country. On the other hand, it should be noticed that some Hispanic Americans, because of business necessity or for other reasons, have become residents of the United States, where they have disseminated a knowledge of their native countries and have stimulated the interest in Hispanic-American affairs.

It can not be said that the literary influence of the United States upon Hispanic America has been great. This has been partly due to the fact that the literature of the United States is in a language not akin to the Romance tongues. As was indicated in the second chapter, the political ideals of the United States have been made known to Hispanic Americans mainly through translations of political essays and important state papers. Although it has been alleged that Henry Clay's speeches on South American independence were printed and hung in buildings in Spanish-American republics,³ yet the writer has not found evidence to support that allegation. The first scholarly attempt to prepare a Spanish version of Clay's

² *La nación: número especial en el centenario de la proclamación de la independencia*, p. 699.

³ (Littell), *The Clay Minstrel, or National Songster*, pp. 27, 28.

speeches was made in 1912, when, at the instance of Señor Luis Carve, director of the *Revista histórica* of Montevideo, Dr. Carlos María de Pena, Uruguayan minister to the United States, undertook to translate those orations upon South American independence into Castilian for circulation in Spanish America.⁴

A naval officer who traveled through Peru in the middle of the nineteenth century expressed the opinion that of novels written by citizens of the United States those of James Fenimore Cooper were the best known.⁵ That prose writer of the United States whose literary productions have probably been most widely noticed in Spanish America was William Hickling Prescott. This was mainly due to the fact that his works on the *Conquest of Mexico* and the *Conquest of Peru* described a dramatic epoch in Spanish-American history. Spanish translations of those works have circulated widely in Hispanic-American countries: descendants of the *conquistadores* have read his productions; and occasionally an erudite historical critic has pointed out an error.

Two poets of the United States have influenced Rafael Pombo, a noted Colombian poet. The author of *Poems of Passion*, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, became known in northern South America, at least, through Pombo's splendid poem *Decíamos ayer*. As Pombo indicated, this poem was upon the same theme as Ella Wheeler Wilcox's verses *Re-United*.⁶ Not only that, but a number of Pombo's Castilian verses were poetic translations of Mrs. Wilcox's. Thus the last:

Atando el hilo, roto un largo instante
Sigamos, pues, llorada compañera,
Hacía atrás, y a la par hacia adelante
A nuestra gran será que hace años era.

Most enduring and widespread of North American poetic influence in Hispanic America has been Longfellow's. This was not because the themes of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow were concerned with Spain or Spanish America but evidently because

⁴ "Clay y la revolución de 1810," in *Revista histórica*, vol. v, pp. 537-40.

⁵ Herndon and Gibbon, *Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon*, vol. II, p. 55.

⁶ Pombo, *Poesías de Rafael Pombo*, vol. II, p. 192.

his meter, thought, and imagery pleased the Spanish-American taste and because his poems could be readily translated into Castilian. It has been said that a person who uses the language of Cervantes can read Longfellow's verses easily in English. It would seem that an American admirer of Longfellow who does not have a profound knowledge of Spanish might easily recognize Pombo's translation of *The Arrow and the Song*.⁷ Witness the last two coplas:

Vi mi flecha, años después,
Clavada en un roble, entera
Y a su abrigo;
Y encontré tal como él es,
Mi canto, en el corazón
De un amigo.

In a similar fashion a translation of *Evangeline* by Joaquín D. Casasús, at one time Mexico's ambassador to the United States, conveys admirably Longfellow's spirit. The first line of that poem was rendered, *Esta es la selva de la edad primera*.⁸ A Mexican author has indeed expressed the opinion that the best poets of the United States and of the Hispanic-American nations belong to a similar group, that their poetry is non-imitative, and that it is in the widest sense of the word, American. But other Hispanic-American literati have maintained that the prose and poetic productions of the various Hispanic-American states have their respective peculiarities, that all the American poets are imitative, and that a Pan-American school of literature has not yet come into existence. However that may be, certain it is that the publication in recent years by North Americans of volumes dealing with the history, the customs, and the literature of Hispanic America, volumes which sometimes contained excerpts or translations from Hispanic-American authors, has nurtured in the United States an appreciation for their civilization.

A study of the influence of the United States upon the educa-

⁷ Pombo, *Traducciones poéticas*, p. 48.

⁸ Quoted in "Longfellow in Latin America," in *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, vol. XLVI, p. 348.

tional ideals of Hispanic America may appropriately begin with the career of Domingo F. Sarmiento, the distinguished educator and publicist of South America. Born of poor but worthy parents in the provincial city of San Juan, Argentina, on February 15, 1811, Sarmiento received a scanty education. When a young man he became involved in the civil war between the so-called Unitarian and Federalist parties and was forced into exile. In 1842, a short time after his arrival in Santiago, Sarmiento was appointed director of a normal school that had been created by a law of Chile.⁹ Three years later he was sent by the government of that country on a mission to certain foreign countries for the purpose of studying their educational systems. After a trip to France and Spain, Sarmiento reached the United States in August, 1847. There he visited several important cities and made the acquaintance of the New England educator, Horace Mann, whom he characterized as a "noble promoter of education." In November, 1847, the traveler turned his back upon "the light of North American civilization" and sailed from New Orleans for Valparaiso by way of Habana and Lima. This brief sojourn in North America transformed Sarmiento into an apostle of United States education.¹⁰

Soon after his return to Santiago, on March 28, 1848, Sarmiento submitted to Manuel Montt, the Chilean secretary of public instruction, a report about his trip, announcing the preparation of a book that would contain the information which he had acquired in Europe and North America about primary education.¹¹ That book, entitled *De la educación popular*, appeared from the press in 1849. It was an encyclopedic treatise containing data and comments upon public education. The material in its pages was derived from two main sources: the experience of Sarmiento as a teacher in South America; and, more important, the study of educational systems which he had made during his foreign tour.

Let us consider in some detail that part of Sarmiento's plea which was based upon the educational system of the United

⁹ Guerra, *Sarmiento, su vida y sus obras*, pp. 71, 72.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-29; Sarmiento, *Obras*, vol. xi, pp. 19-28; *ibid.*, vol. XLIII, p. 300.

¹¹ Sarmiento, vol. xi, pp. 19-28.

States. Sarmiento demonstrated that the United States possessed a splendid school system, which dated from the beginnings of the colony of Massachusetts Bay. He discussed the acts of town meetings in regard to primary schools; and he printed sections of important laws of Massachusetts concerning public instruction, directing special attention to the fact that primary education was there supported, in part, by a general tax. He mentioned the donations made by citizens of the United States for the endowment of institutions of higher learning. His epitome of the educational doctrine which had been adopted in the United States ran as follows: "Primary education is a branch of public administration. The state presides over education, directs, and inspects it." His discussion of the inspection of public instruction devoted considerable attention to the system adopted in the state of New York. With respect to the education of women he pointed out that in the United States women played an important and increasing part in the instruction of children. In that connection he took occasion to describe the normal schools which had been established there for the training of women teachers. As a norm in the construction of public school buildings, Sarmiento presented specifications contained in reports and educational periodicals of the United States. He devoted special attention to the grammar school of Salem, Massachusetts, explaining that in that Puritan state only one individual in fifty did not know how to read, while in South America the ratio of illiteracy was that of one person who knew how to read to each group of ten or twenty illiterate persons.¹²

Manuel Montt had *Educación popular* at hand when he drafted an organic law of public instruction for Chile which was presented to congress in November, 1849. Montt's project met with such powerful resistance by congressmen, however, that ultimately a bill which was less progressive became a law.¹³ But the main ideas set forth by Sarmiento in his didactic treatise were expounded by him during the rest of his public career.

¹² Sarmiento, vol. xi, pp. 33-322.

¹³ Guerra, p. 133.

Sarmiento's gospel concerning schools will be suggested by the following passages from *Educación popular*:

The interior organization of our schools is of the worst. No principle of economy, or system, or order prevails in them. . . . After having visited the schools of the leading nations of the world, realizing the ignominy of our moral situation, I have been able to comprehend the extent to which human dignity is promoted by proper respect to the individuals of our species through the style and equipment of schools. It is their educational institutions that are entitled to the glory of having brought the freemen of North America to a stage of perfection—better to say of luxury—which is unknown to the rest of the world.¹⁴

Sarmiento was thus the first prominent Spanish-American publicist to champion the adoption of educational practices of the United States in South America. In the middle of the nineteenth century certain Chileans seemed reluctant to adopt his views. Yet the pervasive influence which has been exercised by the United States upon the educational system of Chile, an influence that has been greatly reenforced in recent years by the employment of teachers trained in that country, dates from Sarmiento.

After his return to Argentina, Sarmiento became governor of his native province. There he promoted education by providing revenues for public schools, by installing an academy in his native city, by founding a model school, and by inaugurating a school of agriculture.¹⁵ On December 4, 1863, the Argentine Government appointed him envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the United States.¹⁶ In original instructions to Sarmiento the government directed him to inform it concerning anything that might improve the institutions of Argentina or promote her economic and moral progress;¹⁷ and, in later instructions, it asked him to report upon North American universities.¹⁸

While serving Argentina in the United States Sarmiento

¹⁴ Sarmiento, vol. xi, pp. 303-5.

¹⁵ Guerra, pp. 212-15.

¹⁶ *Registro oficial de la república argentina*, vol. v, p. 114.

¹⁷ Sarmiento, vol. XXX, p. 9. ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

became better acquainted with her life and aspirations. The Argentine minister founded a review entitled *Ambas Américas*, which he designed should disseminate practical knowledge in Hispanic America, make known there the inventions of citizens of the United States, and cause North and South America to become better acquainted.¹⁹ But his favorite topic of study was still public education. The product of his pedagogical investigations was the volume entitled *Las escuelas*, a treatise which, on September 30, 1865, he sent from New York City to Dr. D. E. Costa, the Argentine secretary of public instruction.

In his letter transmitting this volume, Sarmiento expressed the hope that "the stimuli to action which it contained, the good examples presented for imitation, and the greatness and security of the results accomplished would arouse certain minds from the lethargy of habit and routine." The statement has been made that the volume was merely a compilation. This is not strictly correct. *Las escuelas* contained a translation of a life of Horace Mann. That volume was partly composed of communications of Sarmiento to his government about education; and it included his correspondence with various persons concerning educational matters. It contained Sarmiento's account of the meetings of the American Institute of Instruction in 1865 and his articles concerning such topics as American universities, the education of the emancipated negroes, and public instruction in Mexico. It reprinted at least one article from *Ambas Américas*. Its spirit may be suggested by what the author said about the writings of Horace Mann which had just been published: "If I could give any advice to South American governments, this would be that they should procure the greatest possible number of copies of that work and scatter them freely in every city and village."²⁰ A miscellany, *Las escuelas* was designed as a vehicle of educational propaganda in South America.

To the surprise of many people the elections of 1868 in Argentina showed that her minister in Washington had received the

¹⁹ The prologue of the first number of *Ambas Américas* is found in Sarmiento, vol. XXIX, pp. 258-65.

²⁰ Sarmiento, vol. XXX, p. 96.

largest number of votes for president. Without waiting for the formal action of congress, Sarmiento sailed from the United States. On October 12, 1868, he became president of Argentina for six years. At last he was in a position effectively to promote the educational reforms which he had advocated.

President Sarmiento signed a law granting a subsidy for the establishment of a normal school of agriculture.²¹ That president sanctioned a law providing for the establishment of two national normal schools.²² Sarmiento approved a law stipulating that twenty professors should be brought from foreign countries to the University of Córdoba and other institutions.²³ He sanctioned an appropriation for the purchase of school furniture in the United States and also an appropriation to bring women teachers from that country to Argentina.²⁴ At the instance of Sarmiento, the Argentine congress passed a law promoting the publication of translations of certain North American works upon education and upon the constitutional history of the United States.²⁵ On February 4, 1873, Sarmiento issued a decree reorganizing the curricula of the secondary schools of Argentina according to a plan that was obviously patterned somewhat after the curricula in secondary schools of the United States.²⁶ Not the least of his titles to fame is the fact that he thus disseminated knowledge in South America concerning government and society in the United States. By the persistent efforts of President Sarmiento—to a much less extent than he wished—were conditions in Argentina made more like those in the United States.

Sarmiento did not give up this task when he ceased to be president. While residing in the United States he had become interested in the transplantation of her educational practices to South America by the employment of her teachers. In discussing that project with the widow of Horace Mann, he decided that the wisest mode of procedure would be to employ women teachers in Argentine high schools and normal schools. As a

²¹ *Registro oficial de la república argentina*, vol. v, p. 488.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 516.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 495.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 470, 495.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 449, 460, 483.

²⁶ Varela, *La educación del pueblo*, vol. II, pp. 150-58.

pioneer in this work there came from the United States, at the instance of Sarmiento, Mary O'Graham who was first employed in the normal school in Sarmiento's native city. To adapt the words of Sarmiento, the young women from the United States who were sent by the Argentine Government to schools in the provinces sowed a precious seed that would never be lost: they educated hundreds of girls; and they transmitted their spirit to a new generation of teachers.²⁷ Especially through the establishment of normal schools, in which teachers from the United States were sometimes employed, did Sarmiento exercise a lasting influence upon the educational system and practices of Argentina.

Linked with Sarmiento's name in the educational history of southern South America is that of Varela, a son of Uruguay. José Pedro Varela was born in Montevideo on March 19, 1845. Scion of a family which had gained some distinction in politics, José was educated in the best schools of his native city. More attracted by literary pursuits than by the mercantile employment to which his father destined him, while a youth Varela wrote some verses and also contributed political essays to periodicals. When he left his distracted country on a vessel bound for Europe in August, 1867, Varela wrote a poem entitled *Adiós á la patria* in which he apostrophized Uruguay as the "mother of martyrs."²⁸ After a visit to some important European cities, early in 1868 the Uruguayan traveler reached North America. Although he only remained in the United States some months, yet he was much influenced by her civilization.

Varela was vividly impressed with the educational system of the United States. His Uruguayan biographers allege that there he met Sarmiento.²⁹ In the words of Dr. Berra, a Uruguayan coadjutor of Varela:

He visited North American schools attentively, observed their methods, equipment, and construction; and he assimilated their spirit with a peculiar facility. For the purpose of making his information

²⁷ Sarmiento, vol. XXXVIII, pp. 317, 318.

²⁸ Berra, *Noticia de José Pedro Varela i de su participación en la reforma escolar del Uruguay*, pp. 7-16.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

more extensive and exact he eventually secured the best publications concerning the schools of the United States, among them the writings of the educator Frederick Barnard, and returned to Montevideo a year after his departure possessed by the resolution to labor for the emancipation of women and the improvement of primary schools.³⁰

Soon after arriving in his native city Varela gave a lecture concerning the United States and the South American republics. His propaganda for educational reform was so far successful that, at the instance of Dr. Elibio Fernández, there was founded an organization designated the "Society of the Friends of Popular Education." Fernández was made president of the society and Varela secretary. This society proceeded to consider such matters as public libraries and the curricula of schools. Varela, who became president of the society upon the death of Fernández, advocated the introduction into its projected school of such subjects as algebra, geometry, anthropology, physical and natural science. On August 29, 1869, the society opened its school which was named after Fernández. The lack of suitable textbooks in Spanish was soon felt; hence Varela founded a periodical in which were published Spanish translations of United States manuals of education, such as Calkins' *Primary Object Lessons*.³¹ That manual was also published in a separate edition and circulated in Uruguay and Argentina.³² Under the direction of Varela the society thus established a school modeled after schools existing in the United States.

To promote his educational plans, Varela founded a noteworthy periodical, *La educación popular*, which, however, soon ceased to appear because of the lack of subscribers.³³ The labors of the "Society of the Friends of Popular Education" were interrupted considerably by civil dissensions in Uruguay, but its members continued to study the reform of Uruguayan education. In 1874 Varela submitted to it the copy of a manuscript book entitled *La educación del pueblo*.

This volume was based mainly upon the experience and the information that Varela had gained during his foreign trip.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19.

³² Varela, vol. II, pp. 208, 209.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-27.

³³ Berra, pp. 27, 28.

Although he referred approvingly to certain European educational practices, yet most of his illustrations were taken from treatises, reports, or articles published in the United States. *La educación del pueblo* was in large part composed of excerpts from such writings accompanied by Varela's comment. Varela cited the views expressed by Washington concerning the diffusion of knowledge in his farewell address.³⁴ He quoted from a speech delivered by James A. Garfield in Congress praising the schools of Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Toledo.³⁵ From Horace Mann's reports upon education Varela presented excerpts about the advantages of instruction in drawing in connection with writing.³⁶ He quoted a passage from a volume by a New England writer entitled *The Teacher and the Parent*.³⁷ On physical exercise in schools he used a volume by W. S. Mason of Boston.³⁸ He cited an article that appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* in May, 1869, on the necessity of educating American children in American schools.³⁹ With regard to higher education Varela quoted from an article in the *Journal of Education* by a Pennsylvania educator, who discussed the influence of Cambridge and Oxford universities upon the universities of the United States.⁴⁰ In respect to school architecture, he referred to Barnard.⁴¹ From Sarmiento's *Educación popular* he selected an excerpt concerning the attention which was paid in the United States to the appearance of the school grounds.⁴²

A few passages from Varela's volume will suggest its spirit:

The miracles which the United States has accomplished in respect to education are known: those are due to the united force of the authorities and the people, to the enormous sums which the state provides for that purpose, and to the enormous sums provided by the intelligent philanthropy of men of fortune! . . . A citizen of the United States believes that education is a necessity of the state, an exigency of society, and a convenience for all, and, realizing that many and great sacrifices are necessary to assure the benefits of education to everyone, he disposes with pleasure of a part of his fortune in order to promote that great object!

³⁴ Varela, vol. I, p. 94.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 231-33.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 290-95.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 305-11.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 101-3.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 136, 137.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 181-84.

Among us the contrary is true! If the revenues which the state allows for education are scanty, much more scanty are the spontaneous gifts made by the people! . . . Upon this side of the Atlantic Ocean, the United States, allying the school and democracy, . . . has transformed herself in a century of independent life into the most powerful, the most rich, and the most happy of modern nations. . . . We hesitate to speak of the melancholy picture presented by the South American republics . . . without schools, without government, without industry, without agriculture, one might almost say without labor: they are certainly left behind by a civilization which they will not promote,—isolated from the progress of humanity unless they hasten to discard old costumes and to array themselves in the dress of democracy and true civilization. . . .⁴³

The "Society of the Friends of Popular Education" published this book in 1874. Varela thus stepped forth as a leader in educational reform in Uruguay and disseminated more widely a knowledge of the educational systems and ideals of the United States.

On March 25, 1876, Dictator Latorre appointed Varela director of schools in Montevideo. Varela was aided in that task by a commission to which some other members of his society belonged. In April, 1876, he submitted to this commission a project of a law concerning public education which was prefaced by an extensive study entitled *La legislación escolar*. The commission decided that this manuscript should be published.⁴⁴ Varela's volume on educational legislation contained an analysis of social crises, a treatise about public education, and a project of an education bill. For the grave economic, financial, and political conditions existing in Uruguay Varela maintained that one remedy was the education of the people. He discussed the principles which, in his judgment, should lie at the basis of common school education. Of Varela's proposed law a biographer said that at first sight it displayed the intention of its author to transplant to Uruguay the ideas and the educational system of the United States.⁴⁵ No sooner was his volume on educational legislation published than the author sent a copy to

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 17, 76, 98.

⁴⁴ Berra, pp. 44, 47.

⁴⁵ Varela, vol. II, pp. 47-56.

Latorre, who referred it to a commission for consideration. After a study of Varela's project this commission was convinced of the inadequacy of Uruguay's laws concerning public instruction. On August 24, 1877, Latorre accordingly promulgated a decree which reorganized the educational system of Uruguay.

That decree of 1877 was composed of fifty-five articles. Designated by certain Uruguayan writers as the "Law of Varela," it embodied his project with some modifications. It established a national board of public instruction composed of certain officials and other members who should be appointed by the government. That board was given absolute and exclusive control of the educational system of Uruguay. The functions of that board were to superintend primary instruction, to administer the normal school, to appoint teachers, to select textbooks, to organize public and school libraries, to supervise teachers' examinations, and to grant teachers' certificates. In the capital of each department there was to be a local board of primary education whose chairman should be the departmental inspector of primary instruction. All public instruction, which was to be compulsory and supported by the government, should be under the control of the state. A primary school should be established in every place where there were fifty children of school age. Heads of families who did not comply with the law should be fined. The law made specifications concerning the subjects which were to be taught in the public schools. In primary schools the objective method was to be used in teaching. History, civics, bookkeeping, sewing, algebra, geometry, physiology, hygiene, physics, natural history, geography, agriculture, music, and physical training were among the subjects to be taught. Except where the parents or guardians of pupils opposed it, instruction in the Catholic religion was to be obligatory in all public schools. Provisions were also made concerning the organization of school libraries and the national normal school.⁴⁶ Dictator Latorre appointed José Pedro Varela national inspector of public instruction.

⁴⁶ Criado, *Colección legislativa de la república oriental del Uruguay*, vol. iv, pp. 632-46.

Varela proceeded to carry out his reforms as national inspector of public instruction despite the hostile attitude of certain acquaintances who accused him of being a tool of the dictator. In reply his justification was that public education was not politics; that the existing tyranny was the result of the social condition of Uruguay; and that the best mode to prevent tyranny in the future was to transform the intellectual and moral condition of the Uruguayan people by education.⁴⁷ He appointed inspectors for the departments, promulgated regulations concerning primary education,⁴⁸ and began the publication of *La enciclopedia de educación*. This encyclopedia of education resembled some other productions of Varela, for it was not original. It was composed of translations and reprints of articles and monographs concerning education and pedagogy.⁴⁹ Varela also held a conference of the departmental inspectors, in which he disseminated his ideas. Although in failing health, he labored industriously on his last report, which dealt with the administrative and fiscal difficulties that he had encountered in executing the new law of education.⁵⁰

Varela died on October 24, 1879. Even before his untimely death he had been characterized by an admiring fellow-countryman as the Horace Mann of Uruguay. Another Uruguayan writer, C. M. Maeso, has aptly said of the effects of Varela's labors that it seemed as though an impure and unsanitary water was made limpid and crystalline by the filter of reform. Inspired by his brief visit to the United States, he initiated the reforms which have placed his native land educationally in the front rank of Hispanic-American nations. Since Varela's death Uruguay has further profited by the employment of trained teachers from the United States.

Pedagogues from that country have also played some part in the reorganization of the educational system of Peru. For a brief period a citizen of the United States acted as adviser to the Peruvian minister of public instruction. Dr. Albert A. Gie-

⁴⁷ Berra, pp. 68, 69.

⁴⁸ Criado, vol. IV, pp. 680-88.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-73. See further, Sarmiento, vol. XXVIII, pp. 348-56.

⁵⁰ Berra, pp. 74-77.

secke, trained at Cornell and Pennsylvania universities, has served as rector of the University of Cuzco.

The educational system of the United States has affected Hispanic America in other ways. The custom followed by prominent Hispanic-American families of sending their sons to foreign lands to complete their education has been influential. It would be difficult to state with accuracy when the first Hispanic-American student entered an educational institution in the United States. Certain it is that Fernando Bolívar, nephew of Simón Bolívar, was sent by his uncle and guardian to the United States to be educated.⁵¹

The practice initiated by private individuals has been fostered by leading governments of South America. In a note to his government dated April 1, 1905, the Argentine minister at Washington stated that during a period of four years his legation had had in its charge twenty-five young men who had been given stipends by the Government of Argentina in order that they might study agriculture, veterinary science, mechanics, and electricity in important universities of the United States. That minister had also supervised six students who had been sent to that country for the same purpose by the government of the province of Santa Fé.⁵² Another illustration can be taken from Peru. On December 31, 1910, Peru's consul general at New York addressed a letter to his government about the education of Peruvian young men in the United States. He declared that there were in that country six students who had been sent there by the Peruvian Government: five of those were normal school preceptors, and the other was a student of medicine. This consul general said that in all there were in the United States at that date about one hundred and twenty Peruvian students.⁵³

The United States Government has also played a part in the practical education of South American youth. In 1903 Peru's secretary of foreign relations publicly expressed the gratitude of the Peruvian people because of the admission to service on

⁵¹ Bolívar, *Papeles*, pp. 308, 309.

⁵² *Documentos diplomáticos*, segunda serie, vol. I, p. 191.

⁵³ *Boletín del ministerio de relaciones exteriores*, vol. XIII, no. 38, p. 39.

United States warships of certain naval students who had completed their preparatory training at Callao.⁵⁴ In his report to the congress of Peru in 1905, the secretary of foreign relations, Javier Prado y Ugarteche, said: "With much good will the Government of the United States has admitted new Peruvian marine guards into its navy, and at this moment there are a large number of our young fellow-citizens who are being educated in the United States with great profit and success."⁵⁵ The United States government informed Venezuela in the following year that it had decided favorably upon the question of furnishing military instruction to a number of officials in the military service of the governments of Mexico, Central America, and South America.⁵⁶

This educational work has recently been promoted by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. In June, 1911, in accordance with the recommendation of the Fourth Pan-American Conference, the Division of Intercourse and Education of that Endowment decided to promote the exchange of students and professors between the United States and Hispanic-American countries. The plan of the Endowment regarding the professors was that each academic year two scholarly teachers from prominent Hispanic-American universities should be sent to universities in the United States in exchange for two of their teachers.⁵⁷ A plan was also devised for the education of students from Hispanic-American nations at universities in the United States by means of fellowships furnished by the Endowment.

Hispanic Americans attending United States colleges or universities have ordinarily enrolled in practical or technical courses, such as agriculture, commerce, education, medicine, and engineering. A comparatively large number of those students have attended Georgetown University, Cornell, Harvard, Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Massachusetts Institute of Technology. It has been estimated that in all

⁵⁴ *Memoria del ministro de relaciones exteriores*, 1903, p. vi.

⁵⁵ *Boletín del ministerio de relaciones exteriores*, vol. II, no. 8, p. 1.

⁵⁶ *El libro amarillo de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela*, 1907, p. 291.

⁵⁷ *Boletín del ministerio de relaciones exteriores*, vol. XVII, no. 48, pp. 272-76.

about two thousand Hispanic-American students were enrolled in the academies, colleges, and universities of the United States in 1918.⁵⁸ Their education does not consist solely in the acquisition of knowledge or technical skill. For they carry back to their native countries the image of Anglo-American civilization; they take with them the good name of American universities; they are factors in the transmission of United States culture to South America. At the same time the migration of Hispanic-American students to the United States has stimulated a more sympathetic interest in that country in Hispanic-American affairs and has spread in certain quarters a more intimate knowledge of her southern neighbors.

Another factor in the transmission of North American educational doctrines to Hispanic-American countries has been the activity there of several Protestant sects. As the labor of each of those sects was largely directed to the extension of its own particular type of the Christian faith, the activities of Methodists, Presbyterians, and other sects in Hispanic-American countries partook of the character of propaganda. This Protestant propagandism in lands which were nominally Catholic and where Roman Catholicism was ordinarily the religion of the state was naturally bound, under certain circumstances at least, to arouse criticism and even to provoke some antagonism. Still those Protestant missionaries who have zealously preached and faithfully taught in Hispanic America have served to make the citizens of that region and United States citizens better acquainted with each other; they have spread the Protestant faith and disseminated the educational ideals of the United States in Hispanic-American countries; and they have also conveyed to the United States a knowledge of Hispanic-American conditions, customs, and ideas.

In 1825 the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States became interested in transplanting its faith to South America. The general conference of 1832 recommended that measures should be taken to promote Meth-

⁵⁸ Du Bois Hurrey, "Los edificadores del pan-americanismo," in *El estudiante latino-americano*, vol. I, p. 18.

odist missions in South America. Hence in July, 1835, Rev. F. E. Pitts was sent on a missionary tour of the South American field.⁵⁹ Rev. Mr. Pitts visited Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, and Montevideo; and in his report he recommended that missions should be established in Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires—cities where he actually began to preach the Protestant faith. After his return to the United States that minister reported to the general Methodist conference at Cincinnati; and this conference passed a resolution requesting that pastors should be sent to the vast field. In 1836 Methodist missionaries were accordingly dispatched to the capitals of Argentina and Brazil.⁶⁰

Rev. Justin Spaulding and Dr. Daniel P. Kidder embarked for Rio de Janeiro. On his voyage to that capital Rev. Mr. Kidder held divine services on a United States vessel in the harbor of Pará and in a friend's house upon the shore. To adapt his own phraseology Kidder was probably the first Protestant minister to enjoy the opportunity "of attempting to teach Jesus and the resurrection upon the wide waters of the Amazon."⁶¹ The two Methodist missionaries soon began to preach the gospel, to distribute Bibles in English or Portuguese, and to make extensive travels in Brazil. In 1837 at the mission in Rio de Janeiro many copies of the Scriptures furnished by the American Bible Society were distributed gratuitously.

This activity provoked much opposition. Newspapers printed attacks upon the missionaries. A periodical entitled *O Catholico* was founded for the express purpose of fighting the evangelists.⁶² From 1837 to 1839 Father Luiz Gonçalves dos Santos, the author of certain memoirs concerning Brazil, published several works which were directed against the missionaries. In a polemic which was entitled *O Catholico e o Methodista ou re-utação das doutrinas heréticas e falsas*, he declared that Protestantism was the kingdom of the Devil; he expressed surprise that "laymen—married, with children—called *missionaries* of

⁵⁹ *Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1836, p. 14.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 1832, pp. 135-37.

⁶¹ Kidder and Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians*, p. 542.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 257. See further, *Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1840, p. 15.

Rio de Janeiro," should be permitted to preach Jesus Christ to the Brazilians. He compared those missionaries to demons who perverted the Catholics, "undermining their faith by public sermons in their houses, by day schools and Sunday schools and by the distribution of truncated Bibles and Bibles without notes." Denouncing the Methodists as "the most modern, the most turbulent, the most liberal, fanatical, hypocritical, and ignorant" of all the Protestant sects, he bewailed the fact that the Brazilian Church, which had hitherto been an enclosed garden into which no mischievous animal could enter, had been invaded by wolves who would destroy the Lord's vineyard.⁶³

In the same year that the Methodists planted a mission in the capital of Brazil they sent Rev. John Dempster to Buenos Aires. It appears that Dictator Rosas prohibited Dempster from laboring among any other than English speaking people. So successful was this minister that the place of worship was soon too small to hold his congregation. A sum of money was raised in Buenos Aires amounting to fifteen hundred dollars for the purchase of church property; the Methodist Board of Foreign Missions in New York made a grant of ten thousand dollars; and in 1839 land was purchased for a church site. During the pastorate of Rev. William H. Norris, on January 8, 1843, the First Methodist Church of Buenos Aires,—the "Mother Church of Methodism in South America"—was opened with dedication services.⁶⁴

In 1846 that church had twenty-six members, including a few who resided in Montevideo, and it had ninety-six pupils enrolled in its Sunday school. At its services several persons were converted who were destined to spread the Christian faith in South America.⁶⁵ Prominent among those converts was John F. Thompson who, after completing his studies in Ohio Wesleyan

⁶³ Rodrigues, "Religões acatholicas," in *Livro do centenario*, vol. II, pp. 100, 101. See *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1901, pp. 28-30, for an account of the sacking of a church of the American Baptist Missionary Society at Nitheroy; *ibid.*, 1899, pp. 259-61, gives an account of threats against two American missionaries at Quito, Ecuador; *ibid.*, 1909, pp. 245, 246, reference is made to a similar case.

⁶⁴ *Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1852, pp. 137-41.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 1846, pp. 37, 38.

University, returned to Buenos Aires in 1866.⁶⁶ Upon the evening of May 25, 1867, Rev. Mr. Thompson preached a sermon in the Spanish language in the First Methodist Church in Buenos Aires. That day has consequently been called "the Birthday of Spanish Evangelization under the auspices of Methodism"; for although other missionaries had occasionally preached in Spanish, yet this sermon marked the inauguration in Argentina of regular services at which evangelical sermons were delivered in the Spanish language. A Spanish service upon Sunday evening became an established custom at Buenos Aires.⁶⁷ Rev. Mr. Thompson was invited to preach in Spanish in Montevideo in 1869; and for several years he acted as pastor of the Spanish church in that city. The pastorate of that remarkable minister was checkered by adventurous incidents,—such as a public and stormy debate concerning the Scriptures with a Jesuit priest—that make his reminiscences read like a novel.⁶⁸ Shortly after Thompson began to preach in Montevideo, the Methodist Board of Foreign Missions enforced its policy that the funds which it furnished should be devoted to the promotion of missionary operations in the Spanish language, while the work in English was expected to be entirely self-supporting.⁶⁹

Meantime the mother church of American Methodism in South America had spread its faith in many quarters. A mission was soon planted at Barracas near Buenos Aires. About 1846 a mission was established at Rosario on the Paraná River. Missionaries were sent to preach among the French and German settlers of Protestant faith in the Argentine provinces of Santa Fé and Entre Ríos.⁷⁰ After 1883 the Methodist Church in southern South America entered so decidedly upon a career of expansion that a certain missionary characterized the period from 1836 to 1883 as "Forty-six years of *fort-holding*," and the period

⁶⁶ Drees, "Methodist Episcopal Missions in South America," in *El estandarte evangélico*, November 22, 1911, pp. 40-41.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 41; Thompson "Reminiscencias," in *El estandarte evangélico*, November 22, 1911, pp. 46, 47.

⁶⁸ Thompson, *loc. cit.*, November 22, 1911, pp. 47-51.

⁶⁹ Tallon, "El Metodismo en Sud América," in *El estandarte evangélico*, November 22, 1911, pp. 27, 28; Drees, *loc. cit.*, November 22, 1911, p. 42.

⁷⁰ Drees, *loc. cit.*, November 22, 1911, pp. 40, 41.

from 1883 to 1887 as "Four years of *conquest*."⁷¹ By the end of 1887 itinerant preachers had distributed evangelical literature in the interior of South America, far beyond the confines of Paraguay.⁷² Mission stations had been established at several towns in Uruguay; at Porto Alegre in the Brazilian province of Rio Grande do Sol; at Paraná and several other places in the Argentine province of Entre Ríos; at Asunción, the capital of Paraguay; and at Mendoza, near the foot hills of the Andes. Francisco Penzotti, an enterprising colporteur, had been selected to lead an evangelistic crusade from Lima.⁷³ Upon crossing the cordilleras to Chile, the Methodists from Buenos Aires found that, under the direction of Rev. William Taylor, missions had been planted at various places upon the Chilean coast. In 1887 there were "Taylor missions" at Concepción, Santiago, Coquimbo, and Iquique,⁷⁴ which ultimately fell into the hands of the Methodist Missionary Society.

While the Methodist churches in South America were developing an independent administration through annual conferences of ministers, they carefully maintained their relations with the United States. That was done largely through episcopal supervision. Visits by Bishops Foster, Harris, Fowler, and Newman to Methodist churches in South America strengthened the bonds between them and the churches of North America.⁷⁵

The missionary enterprises of the Methodists in the basin of la Plata River led to the establishment there of evangelical schools. A natural concomitant of the founding of missions and churches was, of course, the establishment of Sunday schools. Shortly after Rev. G. D. Carrow became pastor of the First Methodist Church in Buenos Aires in 1854, a day school was founded in connection with the mission.⁷⁶ About ten years later free evangelical schools were established for poor Argentine children in and about Buenos Aires. At a school in Buenos Aires which was in charge of Rev. Mr. Thompson the pupils were furnished the rudiments of a common school education,

⁷¹ *Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1888, p. 60.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-81, 85.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 81-83.

⁷⁵ Drees, *loc. cit.*, November 22, 1911, p. 44.

⁷⁶ *Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1858, p. 68.

and, in addition, were given instruction in printing and shoe-making.⁷⁷ During the next decade, at the instance of Rev. Mr. Wood of the church at Buenos Aires, the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States established a school at Rosario. This enterprising minister also induced that society to found a school at Asunción. Under the auspices of the same society, schools for poor children were established in various sections of Montevideo.⁷⁸ By 1910 there had also been founded a school for boys in that city and some academies of higher learning in Buenos Aires. A successful woman teacher was sent from Buenos Aires in 1916 to manage a girls' school in Lima.⁷⁹

Brazil has also furnished a field of activity for the southern branch of the Methodist church in the United States. The earliest missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to the Brazilian Empire was Rev. J. E. Newman, a resident of Brazil, who was made a missionary to that country about 1875. Newman and his successors spread the gospel in the city of Rio de Janeiro and in the province of São Paulo. Missionaries of the Southern Methodists also encountered opposition from Catholic priests. A Brazil Mission Conference was organized in 1887 by Bishop Granbery. By 1913 the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had organized its work in two sections: the Brazil Mission Conference including the missions around Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo; and the South Brazil Conference, which included the missions in the extreme south.⁸⁰ According to statistics furnished by its board of missions, in 1916 the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had in Brazil seventy-nine organized churches, sixty-nine missionaries, forty-nine native preachers, and ten day schools with over thirteen hundred pupils.⁸¹

For that church had not only planted missions but also opened schools in Brazil. By 1916 it had established there six colleges.

⁷⁷ Thompson, *loc. cit.*, November 22, 1911, pp. 51, 52; Tallon, *loc. cit.*, November 22, 1911, pp. 24, 25.

⁷⁸ *Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1883, pp. 42-45.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 1916, p. 212.

⁸⁰ *Annual Report of the Board of Missions of the M. E. Church, South*, 1913, pp. 135-56.

⁸¹ *M. E. Church, South, Quarterly Field Bulletin*, no. 1, Brazil; *Annual Report of the Board of Missions of the M. E. Church, South*, 1917, pp. 137-50.

The most important of those was Granbery College at Juiz de Fóra, which offered courses in liberal arts, dentistry, pharmacy, and theology. As an annex to the church at Rio de Janeiro there was established what has been designated the People's Central Institute. This institute had a department of health with a physician, a dentist, and a clinic. It maintained day schools and night schools, as well as a seaman's mission. A similar institute at São Paulo maintained a school for poor children, which gave courses in sewing and domestic science.⁸²

As has been suggested, Methodist propaganda in Chile was started by William Taylor, who from 1878 to 1884 planted missionary stations along the west coast of South America. Besides acting as missionaries the coadjutors of Taylor served as teachers of the children of the better classes. Upon the basis laid by the zeal of Taylor's followers the Methodists built their structure of schools and missions; for in 1893 the Taylor missions were included in the South America Conference.⁸³ In 1916 the missions directed by the Northern Methodist Church of the United States in Chile stretched along the Atlantic coast from Punta Arenas on the far south to Tacna in the north. At that date there were three Methodist churches in Santiago.

In connection with some of those churches day schools were opened.⁸⁴ The Methodists had established in the capital of Chile in 1880 a girls' boarding school called Santiago College. In 1917 that institution had kindergarten, primary, intermediate, secondary, and graduate courses. The secondary courses ran through four years and included the study of English, rhetoric, Spanish, literature, advanced arithmetic, physical geography, astronomy, physics, chemistry, botany, zoology, geology, physiology, history, gymnastics, and domestic science. The graduate course included work in fine arts and music. Several of the teachers in Santiago College were graduates of colleges or universities in the United States.⁸⁵ Unlike many of the re-

⁸² *Annual Report of the Board of Missions of the M. E. Church, South*, 1917, pp. 138, 139, 143.

⁸³ *Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1893, pp. 263-65.

⁸⁴ *Actas de la decimasexta reunión de la conferencia anual de Chile de la iglesia metodista episcopal*, *passim*.

⁸⁵ *Santiago College*, 1917, *colegio inglés para señoritas*, pp. 5, 27-51.

ligious institutions planted by Yankee enterprise in Hispanic America, Santiago College eventually became self-supporting.⁸⁶

In 1897 the Methodists of Chile were organized in a conference distinct from that of their brethren in Argentina or Brazil. The Western South America Conference was divided in 1904; and the missions that had been planted in the north were organized in the "North Andes Mission Conference." The "Chile Conference" stretched from the Straits of Magellan to the northern boundary of Bolivia in 1915. In the following December the missions in Bolivia were organized into a separate conference.

Two striking illustrations may be found in Bolivia of the educational work accomplished by Methodists. A committee of prominent Bolivians brought to La Paz in 1898 four teachers trained in the United States who opened a school there which was called the *Instituto americano nacional*. Those teachers withstood the high altitude and "the great opposition of certain church forces" for only a few years. In 1901 the indefatigable Methodists founded a mission at La Paz.

After some negotiations, in 1906 Rev. F. M. Harrington, a Methodist teacher, made an arrangement with the Bolivian secretary of education to open a boys' boarding school at La Paz in the following year. On March 28, 1908, the Bolivian Government approved the proposal for a yearly subvention in support of the school.⁸⁷ The American Institute, as this school came to be known, was modeled after a boys' boarding school of the United States. It had an athletic association, reading clubs, and a company of boy scouts. Its course of study included kindergarten, elementary, secondary, and commercial classes. As soon as the students entered the institute they were taught the English language: textbooks, maps, and laboratory apparatus from the United States were used in the class room. One hundred boarding pupils soon lived in the institute's dormitory, pupils who came from remote sections of Bolivia "by mule, boat, stagecoach, and train to reach the school." In 1913 about three

⁸⁶ *Actas de la decimasexta reunión de la conferencia anual de Chile de la iglesia metodista episcopal*, p. 39.

⁸⁷ *Anuario de leyes y supremas disposiciones*, 1908, p. 349.

hundred students were enrolled in this institute, while the faculty was composed of eighteen teachers who were graduates of colleges and universities in the United States.⁸⁸ The institute educated boys from every social class. When the writer visited it in February, 1917, the sons of mechanics and miners sat in the same room with the son of the Bolivian secretary of public instruction. It was inadequately housed, with buildings in different sections of the capital, but managed by faithful, unselfish teachers.

On October 19, 1911, the Government of Bolivia approved the proposal of a Methodist missionary, Rev. John E. Washburn, to establish in Cochabamba an American institute that should be supported by a government subsidy.⁸⁹ The Cochabamba Institute was accordingly founded with accommodations for one hundred and fifty students. At once that institute was filled to overflowing.⁹⁰ As at La Paz many of the pupils lived in the institute's dormitory. In 1917 children above six years of age were admitted to beginners' classes: the primary course extended through six years and included classes in Spanish, English, arithmetic, penmanship, singing, gymnastics, manual training, and physiology, with some attention to natural science, geography, and history. Commercial subjects constituted an intermediate course including a study of commercial law and ethics, bookkeeping, mimeographing, typewriting, and stenography. The course of higher study, also extending through six years, included, besides advanced courses in some of the subjects mentioned, courses in algebra, geometry, trigonometry, physical geography, agriculture, geology, botany, physics, zoology, chemistry, and astronomy. This course was an adaptation of a course prescribed in the national universities of Bolivia and had been officially recognized as being of the same standard. In the announcement of the course in English which was given in 1917 the statement was made that the students of colleges and commercial schools in the United States were study-

⁸⁸ *The American Institute*, pp. 1-4; *The American Institute, La Paz, Bolivia, 1907-1913*, pp. 1-5. See further, *Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1915, p. 343.

⁸⁹ *Anuario de leyes, decretos y resoluciones supremas*, 1911, p. 848.

⁹⁰ *The American Institute, La Paz, Bolivia, 1907-1913*, p. 2.

ing Spanish more than ever before and the question was asked, "Why should not South American students learn English?" The need was pointed out of a knowledge of the English language by Bolivian merchants who were becoming more interested in commercial intercourse with the United States.⁹¹ To promote better relations with the United States this institute also offered a special preparatory course for boys who intended to study engineering in the colleges and universities of the United States.

On August 14, 1916, after the Bolivian Government, because of financial exigency due to the World War, had ceased to pay the annual subsidy promised to the American institutes, a number of well-known citizens of Cochabamba addressed an illuminating letter to Bolivia's secretary of public instruction. They said:

During the five years in which the Cochabamba Institute has existed in this city, we have observed with every interest in our positions as fathers of families who desired their sons to be well educated, that more care is taken in this institution than in any other school to form youths who will display self-reliance in the struggle for existence. For the education which they are given there develops them in a practical manner in three aspects, physical, moral, and intellectual. . . . Further, the faculty of the institute which we are considering is composed of teachers who have obtained their degrees in the universities of the great Republic of the North, where culture and civilization are very advanced and whose educational system has profited by all the progress of modern pedagogy. . . . In the last two years and a half the institute has received no subvention from the state, because of the world crisis caused by the war: in spite of that, and by virtue of great sacrifices, and to furnish an example of character the institution has been maintained upon the same standard, the professors laboring with the same enthusiasm and decision, although they have only been remunerated with half pay. Because of the above mentioned conditions, we respectfully request the secretary to include in the budget for this year such a part of the subvention as will at least pay the most urgent expenses of the professors as well as the rent of the properties which they use as a recognition of their labors in educating many children.⁹²

⁹¹ *The Cochabamba institute prospecto para 1917*, p. 12.

⁹² *El figaro*, August 24, 1916.

In 1904 the "North Andes Mission Conference" included Peru, Ecuador, and Panamá. Methodist missionaries had been laboring faithfully in Peru, despite many difficulties and obstacles, since 1891. By 1905 missions had been established at Callao, Lima, and Tarma, as well as at the city of Panamá. The Panamá mission with adjacent territory was organized into a separate missionary district in 1916. As annexes to the missions a college was opened at Panamá and a girls' high school was founded at Lima.⁹³

The Northern Methodist Church of the United States began work in Mexico in 1873. In that year Dr. William Butler organized missions in Mexico City, Pachuca, Puebla, and other places.⁹⁴ A few years later the Methodists in Mexico founded a publishing house. Methodist mission stations were planted at other towns upon the plateau of central and southern Mexico; and in 1885 the Mexico Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized. A school that was established at Puebla developed into an educational institution known as the Mexican Methodist Institute which gave courses in theology.⁹⁵ Partly due to the activity of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, day schools were founded in connection with various missions. Although schools were closed and religious activities were disturbed after the downfall of Díaz, yet some schools have recently reopened and religious activities have somewhat revived. In 1917 the Methodists had six congregations in the capital city, besides churches in several important provincial capitals, and they had essayed to plant missions in Central America.⁹⁶

Closely linked with the history of Methodism is the story of Presbyterianism in South America. About 1823 two Presbyterians from the United States began to hold religious meetings in a private dwelling at Buenos Aires. Those evangelical meet-

⁹³ *Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1917*, pp. 391-98.

⁹⁴ *Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1874*, pp. 140, 141.

⁹⁵ *Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1910*, pp. 449-52.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1917, pp. 393-411.

ings were continued until 1836, when the last of the Presbyterian missionaries left for the United States and their disciples soon became affiliated with the Methodist mission.⁹⁷ The first permanent denominational mission founded in Brazil was established at Rio de Janeiro in 1859 by Rev. A. G. Simonton, a Presbyterian from the United States. He was followed by other missionaries of the Northern Presbyterian Church, who soon began to preach in Portuguese. Those missionaries established at Rio de Janeiro a periodical called the *Imprensa evangelica*: they disseminated Calvinistic doctrines in the capital city and also in Friburgo, Petropolis, Ubatuba, Rezende, Campos, and Lorena. In 1863 two Presbyterian missionaries went to the province of São Paulo. They established a mission in the city of that name and the sect multiplied throughout the province. Presbyterian missionaries soon began to preach their doctrines in the vast, interior provinces of Minas Geraes and Paraná.⁹⁸

So persistently did these Presbyterians spread their faith that by 1895 they had established missions in several Brazilian states; they worshipped in forty-three churches, and had about twenty missionaries in the field. At that date they had also several Brazilian colporteurs or preachers, and had, according to their own reports, over thirty-six hundred communicants.⁹⁹ In time Presbyterian churches were organized in presbyteries which formed a synod that held regular meetings. Thus certain Presbyterian congregations in Brazil eventually formed a national church which was financially independent of the mother church in North America.

Signal evidence of the progress of Presbyterian missions in Brazil was afforded by various educational institutions which they founded in connection with their missions. Presbyterian day schools were established at various points in Brazil. At São Paulo there gradually developed a graded school system, a high school, normal classes, and classes in theology.¹⁰⁰ Most

⁹⁷ Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1852, pp. 135, 136.

⁹⁸ Rodrigues, "Religões acatholicas," loc. cit., vol. II, pp. 103, 104.

⁹⁹ Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, 1885, p. 193.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 1883, p. 29.

important of all was the growth at São Paulo of an academy eventually known as Mackenzie College. That college was incorporated by action of the board of regents of the University of the State of New York in 1890. The intention of the regents was to foster the Christian education which had been begun by Presbyterian missionaries.

The main building of that college was constructed by money generously donated by J. T. Mackenzie, a citizen of the United States. Several graduates of universities of the United States were placed upon its faculty. Although it offered courses in commerce and in the humanities, yet the course in engineering was the most popular. Besides providing an instructor in military tactics, the college established chairs of civil engineering, physics and chemistry, Portuguese and Latin, descriptive geometry and mineralogy, mechanical engineering, mechanical design, sanitary engineering and bridges, mathematics and applied physics, mathematics, electrical engineering, architecture, law and political economy. In 1918 Mackenzie College had an enrolment of five hundred and nineteen students, including those in the preparatory department.¹⁰¹ Besides there were in the affiliated *Escola americana* four hundred and forty-five students. To quote a Brazilian writer, Mackenzie College is "a model establishment of Brazil."¹⁰² It forms the apex of the educational system organized by the Presbyterians in Brazil, if not indeed the apex of foreign educational endeavor in Hispanic America.

The Southern Presbyterian Church in the United States also sent missionaries to Brazil. In 1871 Southern Presbyterians founded a mission at Bahia. They started a mission at Curitiba, the capital of the province of Paraná, in 1885. Thirteen years later they established a mission at Florianopolis, the capital of the state of Santa Catharina. In 1869 Campinas became an evangelistic center for the surrounding territory. At some of the Southern Presbyterian missions an *Escola americana* was founded.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ *Prospecto do Mackenzie College (29º anno) e da escola americana (49º anno)*, pp. 5-39.

¹⁰² Rodrigues, "Religiões acatolicas," *loc. cit.*, vol. II, p. 103.

¹⁰³ *Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, 1918, pp. 331, 337-43.

In Chile Protestant mission work was promoted by the American and Foreign Christian Union which planted the "Union Church" at Valparaiso in 1846. That church was organized by Rev. David Trumbull. His labors were mostly concerned with the English speaking inhabitants of Valparaiso. The inscription on his tombstone in the foreign cemetery in that city epitomizes his labors in Chile in the following words:

For forty-three years he gave himself to unwearied and successful effort in the cause of evangelical truth and religious liberty in this country. As a gifted and faithful minister, and as a friend he was honored and loved by foreign residents on this coast. In his public life [he] was the counsellor of Statesmen, the supporter of every good enterprise, the helper of the poor, and the consoler of the afflicted.¹⁰⁴

The church which had been in charge of Rev. Trumbull was transferred to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in 1873. Since that date this board has sent to Chile a considerable number of missionaries and teachers. In 1866 Rev. A. M. Merwin had taken charge of the services in Spanish; and a few years later a Spanish church was organized at Valparaiso. Churches, or mission stations, were founded at Santiago, Concepción, Copiapó, and Taltal.¹⁰⁵

Besides their missions the Presbyterians in Chile opened several day schools and night schools. About 1876 Rev. S. J. Christen founded at Santiago a boarding school for boys, which became known as *El instituto internacional*. In 1898 that school was designated *El instituto inglés*.¹⁰⁶ The students at this institute have been drawn partly from leading families in western South America. In 1914 there were over two hundred and fifty students enrolled, nearly fifty per cent of whom were of Chilean parentage.¹⁰⁷ Its courses now much resemble those in high schools of the United States: in 1918 the curriculum at the *Instituto inglés* included courses of study in English, Spanish, arithmetic, geography, civil and ecclesiastical history, civics, mathematics, and physical training.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ Speer, *Missions in South America*, p. 63.

¹⁰⁵ *Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, 1918, pp. 344-53.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 1898, p. 230.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 1915, p. 393.

¹⁰⁸ *Prospecto para 1919, instituto inglés*, pp. 38-50.

The oldest field of Presbyterian endeavor in South America is Colombia. As early as 1856 the Northern Presbyterian Church of the United States sent Rev. Henry B. Pratt to Bogotá. Two other missionaries soon reached that capital and a Presbyterian church was organized there in 1861. In 1888 and 1890 mission stations were established at Barranquilla and Medellín.¹⁰⁹ The progress of Presbyterian missionaries in Colombia was apparently retarded by revolutions and by the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. About 1912 those missionaries founded a monthly periodical, *El evangelista cristiano*, which was sent from the capital city into remote sections of Colombia. Other sections were occasionally visited by itinerant preachers, while Bibles and evangelical literature were regularly sent to the leper colony at Agua de Dios.¹¹⁰ A Presbyterian mission was also established in 1897 at the capital of Venezuela.¹¹¹

Presbyterian missionaries have founded evangelical schools in northern South America. Eight years after the organization of a church, an "American school" for girls was opened at Bogotá.¹¹² In 1880 a school for boys was founded there.¹¹³ Schools were later established at Barranquilla, Medellín, and Cerete.¹¹⁴ The missionaries soon started a school for boys and girls at Caracas, which was designated *El colegio americano*. The Presbyterians have been aided by the Woman's Board of Foreign Missions of that church, which has supported women missionaries and teachers in Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Mexico.¹¹⁵

The Northern Presbyterian Church in the United States began its work in the city of Mexico in 1872. Its missionary labors extended north and south of that capital. From 1872 to 1895 missions were successively established at Zacatecas, San Luis Potosí, Saltillo, Zitácuaro, and Chilpancingo.¹¹⁶ Missions were established at Vera Cruz and at Jalapa in 1898. In 1915 a

¹⁰⁹ *Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, 1891, pp. 208, 209.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1918, pp. 354-60.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1898, p. 240.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 1870, p. 13.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 1892, p. 206.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1918, pp. 354-60.

¹¹⁵ *Annual Report of the Woman's Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, 1916, pp. 7, 8, 58-62.

¹¹⁶ *Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, 1896, p. 171.

mission was established at Mérida in Yucatan. As adjuncts to some of these missions day schools were established; and in 1897 a school was opened at Coyoacán that developed into a Presbyterian seminary. During the revolutionary disturbances which followed the Díaz regime, the missionaries suffered many trials and tribulations because of depressing economic conditions and the operations of bandits or rebels. Still, here and there, some progress was made. For example, a free medical dispensary was established at Vera Cruz. According to the report of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions there were in Mexico in 1917 twenty-one missionaries from the United States, thirty Mexican coadjutors, and sixty-five churches or missions.¹¹⁷

In addition to missionaries of the Northern Presbyterian Church of the United States there have been active in Mexico several missionaries of the Southern Presbyterian Church. Representatives of the two churches decided in 1914 that the Mexican field should be divided so as to assign the capital city and southern Mexico to the Presbyterian Church, North, while northern Mexico was assigned to the Southern Presbyterian Church. Other sects have been active in Mexico besides the Presbyterians. From 1874 to 1885 day and boarding schools were founded in the city of Mexico, Pachuca, Puebla, and Guanajuato by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Church.¹¹⁸ Methodists of both the northern and southern churches, as well as Baptists, Congregationalists, Disciples, and Friends, have sent missionaries to Mexico. In March and April, 1917, representatives of these sects held an evangelical convention in the capital city and adopted a plan for the establishment of a Protestant seminary in Mexico. Soon afterwards a building in the city of Mexico was rented; and on July 8, 1917, in the presence of representatives of the cooperating denominations, that structure was dedicated. Upon the following day the Evangelical Seminary of Mexico opened its door to

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1918, pp. 263-75.

¹¹⁸ *Annual Report, Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1906, p. 206.

students. The avowed purpose of that institution was to train "evangelical workers, especially ministers, for Mexico."¹¹⁹

In 1882 the Northern Presbyterian Church planted a mission at the city of Guatemala in the republic of Guatemala.¹²⁰ The most efficient missionary work in Central America, however, has been done by the Friends' mission at Chiquimula, Guatemala. In 1914 that work was extended into Honduras by the establishment of a mission at Tegucigalpa. The headquarters of the Friends' missionary activity in Central America remained at Chiquimula, where the society owned a farm with a brick kiln and carpenter shop. Soon after the Chiquimula mission was started the Friends organized a girls' boarding school, the first evangelical school in Central America, which furnished kindergarten, primary, and secondary education. About 1912 the Friends organized a boarding school for boys, where, besides the regular academic studies, courses were given in manual training.¹²¹ In 1917 the superintendent of those missions said that the Friends used "the schools, and camp meetings, prayer meetings, preaching, Bible schools, training classes, colporteurs, gospel teams, and itinerant evangelists, employing both American and native workers" in evangelization.¹²² He even mentioned "barefoot evangelists" returning from Tegucigalpa to Chiquimula.¹²³

By 1918 the Friends were carrying on their evangelistic and pastoral labors from thirteen centers, including two in Honduras. During the year 1917-1918 many evangelistic journeys were made from those centers. On May 31, 1918, the field superintendent reported that ministering to an estimated population of two hundred and seventy-five thousand souls were seven missionaries, nine native evangelists and colporteurs, and ten native pastors, besides native nurses and other workers.¹²⁴

Another church of the United States, the Protestant Episcopal, which entered the field much later than the Methodist or Pres-

¹¹⁹ *Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, 1918*, pp. 265, 266.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1884, p. 126.

¹²¹ *Minutes of the California Yearly Meeting, Friends Church, 1917*, pp. 63-69.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1918, p. 62.

byterian, has planted missions in widely separated sections of Hispanic America. That church began work in Cuba in 1884. By 1910 it had there forty mission stations with about fifteen hundred communicants.¹²⁵ In 1889 two missionaries of the Protestant Episcopal Church began to labor at Porto Alegre in Brazil. Three years later it had in that district twenty Episcopalian clergy, mostly Brazilians, who were presided over by one of its earliest missionaries as bishop. That district had in 1910 one thousand communicants who lived in thirty-seven different stations.¹²⁶ Meantime this church had also established missions or missionary stations at more than thirty towns and cities.¹²⁷ Wherever it planted missions there it has also established Sunday schools and day schools.

The American Bible Society has played an important rôle in the Protestant movement in Hispanic America. Its agents and colporteurs have often prepared the way for missionaries, or have served as missionaries themselves. As has been indicated, the earliest distribution of Portuguese Bibles and New Testaments in Brazil was done through Methodist missionaries in Rio de Janeiro. Rev. Mr. Kidder actually proposed to the legislature of the province of São Paulo in 1839 to guarantee on behalf of the American Bible Society the donation of sufficient Portuguese translations of the New Testament to furnish every primary school in the province with a dozen copies, declaring that the New Testament was "a choice specimen of style on subjects historical as well as moral and religious, in addition to embodying the pure and sacred truths of our holy Christianity."¹²⁸ In 1854 Rev. J. C. Fletcher was made the agent of the American Bible Society at Rio de Janeiro. He circulated the Scriptures in several provinces of northern and southern Brazil and became interested in the evangelization of the Amazon Valley. In 1915 almost 55,000 Bibles, New Testaments, and portions of the Scriptures were distributed in Brazil.¹²⁹

An agency of the society was established at Buenos Aires in

¹²⁵ *The Annual Report of the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1909-1910*, pp. 273, 315, 316.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 273, 274, 313, 314.

¹²⁸ *Bible Work in Latin America*, p. 50.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 274, 317-19.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

1864. The activity and influence of the society in southern South America may be judged from its statement that from 1864 to 1906 there were placed in circulation by its agency at Buenos Aires some 173,000 Bibles, 186,000 New Testaments, and 494,000 portions of the Scriptures. In 1915 this agency circulated 21,136 Bibles, 21,546 Testaments, and 45,965 portions. Fifty-five persons were employed in this distribution. From 1864 to 1915 the agency at Buenos Aires distributed over one and a half million copies of the Scriptures.¹³⁰ It should be noticed, however, that Buenos Aires was the center of distribution for Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador, as well as for Argentina, being known as la Plata agency.

Besides that agency and the agency at Rio de Janeiro, which was entrusted with the work in Brazil, in 1888 the American Bible Society established an agency in northern South America which supervised the circulation of the Scriptures in Venezuela and Colombia. This agency, which had been known as the Colombia agency, was reorganized in 1904: the republic of Colombia became a part of the Central American agency, while a Venezuelan agency was created with its center at Caracas. In 1915, 3,242 volumes, or portions of volumes, were distributed in the Venezuelan district.¹³¹

The traveling agents of the Bible Society in South America endured many hardships. J. H. Randall, a colporteur who visited several towns in the interior of Venezuela, declared that he had walked long distances across mountain ravines and desert sands "with a burning tropical sun overhead." His brief description of a visit to El Callao will suggest some romantic features of the work:

No mission is here, except a High Church—so high as to be out of the reach of most of the people, with a minister seldom at the church because his district is too great. Hence nothing is being done with real effect, and I preached to really hungry people who took in every word. Held many precious conversations and we sold five boxes of Bibles, English, and one box, Spanish. A full

¹³⁰ *Bible Work in Latin America*, p. 32.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 72; *Story of the American Bible Society*, pp. 79, 80.

church awaits a God-sent missionary in this place, together with five or six villages and a tribe of Indians near, all within a week's journey. These are all gold-mining districts, with enough of fever, wild animals, etc., to make it exciting work the whole year around, if that be desired. Had it been possible to stay we could have opened up a work immediately and with no other nearer than six hundred miles at least.¹³²

As has been indicated, since 1904 Colombia has been part of an agency of the Bible Society which also included Panamá and Central America. The original Central American agency was established in 1892. From the city of Guatemala as a center there were distributed in the republics of Central America, Panamá, and Colombia in 1915 over forty-four thousand sacred volumes. In 1916 at Cristóbal in the Canal Zone the corner stone was laid of a Bible house which was constructed at the expense of the Maryland Bible Society. At that place an assistant agent was placed in charge of the work.¹³³

In 1878 an agency of the American Bible Society was established in the city of Mexico to have charge over the distribution of the Scriptures in that republic. Because of civil war in Mexico, in recent years the society's agent for that republic has resided at San Antonio, Texas. His trips through Mexico could hardly be characterized as monotonous; in 1915 he reported that his pockets had been frequently searched for arms and counterfeit money, and his baggage examined to determine whether he was taking specie out of the country.¹³⁴ Although a large number of books was sold in Mexico by colporteurs, the receipts of the society dwindled; for sometimes before a colporteur had completed his sales in a certain region that district had changed hands and it became "a crime for him to have in his possession money issued by the opposing party."¹³⁵ The West Indies agency of the society, which circulated the Scriptures in Cuba, Santo Domingo, and adjacent islands, has been under the control of the agent at San Antonio.¹³⁶

¹³² *Bible Work in Latin America*, pp. 75, 76.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 22; *Story of the American Bible Society*, p. 75.

¹³⁴ *Bible Work in Latin America*, p. 15.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-10; *Story of the American Bible Society*, pp. 67-71.

A useful adjunct to Protestant missions in Hispanic America has been furnished by the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States and Canada. The principles underlying the work of that association in foreign countries were formulated by its international committee at Cleveland on September 26, 1889. This committee declared that "the chief aim" of a United States representative of the association in a foreign mission field should be to train native Christian young men in the methods of association work rather than to create a demand for associates from the United States to carry on that work.¹³⁷ It also declared that the representative of the United States should be known as the secretary of the international committee for the field to which he was sent. In brief, the aim of the parent association was, upon an invitation from the missionaries in a particular country, to found in important cities Young Men's Christian Associations, which should be self-supporting, self-directing, and self-propagating.¹³⁸ The international committee believed that by the development of native leadership the association would flourish in the respective countries in which branches were founded. The money for the promotion of this work in Hispanic-American countries was derived by the association in large part from the contributions of interested and generous individuals.¹³⁹

Under the direction of the international committee of the association, secretaries have been installed in the capitals of several Hispanic-American countries. The first capital in which the association established quarters was Rio de Janeiro. M. A. Clark began the work of the Young Men's Christian Association there in 1891. In 1918 there were eight representatives of the international committee of the association in Brazil, besides a number of Brazilian secretaries. By a nine days' campaign in Rio de Janeiro this branch of the association raised a fund of one hundred thousand dollars for a much needed building.¹⁴⁰ In a recent campaign for funds in Pernambuco the

¹³⁷ *Outline Studies in the Foreign Work of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States and Canada*, p. 5.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 7.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 22; *Foreign Mail*, vol. xxv, no. 2, p. 8.

association was much aided by the hearty cooperation of a prominent Catholic, Manoel de Oliveira Lima. The work of the association was started in the capital of Argentina in 1891. In 1918 there were in Buenos Aires three representatives of the parent association and four native secretaries. Through the generosity of its friends in Argentina and the United States the association erected a splendid home in Buenos Aires which has been valued at about a quarter of a million dollars. The association began work in the neighboring city of Montevideo in 1909. Seven years later there were in that city two representatives of the international committee of the parent association.¹⁴¹ In 1917 the Uruguayan association carried on a campaign for money to build a home. The international committee offered one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, subscribed by citizens of the United States, upon the condition that one hundred thousand dollars should be raised in Montevideo. The stipulated sum was secured in twelve days.¹⁴² The Young Men's Christian Association became active in Chile in 1910. Eight years later there were two representatives of the international committee and four native secretaries engaged in work in Santiago.¹⁴³

The association has also labored in Mexico. A beginning was made in that country by G. I. Babcock in 1902. Sixteen years later there were in Mexico four representatives of the international committee and three Mexican secretaries, while the association had a membership of about nine hundred. A beginning was made in 1904 in Cuba. In 1918 there were in that island two representatives of the international committee, who were assisted by four Cuban secretaries. At that time the Cuban association had more than five hundred members; and it owned a building at Habana valued at one hundred and forty thousand dollars.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ *Outline Studies in the Foreign Work of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States and Canada*, pp. 22, 23.

¹⁴² Conard, "First Whirlwind Building Campaign in South America," in *Foreign Mail*, vol. XXV, no. 2, p. 9.

¹⁴³ *Outline Studies of the Foreign Work of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States and Canada*, p. 23.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

"The Young Men's Christian Association," said the distinguished Argentine publicist, E. S. Zeballos, "enters into the contest as a force that opposes the evil and protects the good."¹⁴⁵ In various capitals of South America branches of that association have virtually become young men's clubs, Christian in tone and undenominational in character. The buildings of those clubs ordinarily contain reading rooms and libraries. Occasionally they furnish facilities for physical training. The splendid association building at Buenos Aires also includes a restaurant. In 1918 almost one-third of the seventeen hundred members of that branch were students in the University of Buenos Aires. It is to that class that this helpful association makes a special appeal.

Still, after many decades of effort, the religious results accomplished by Protestant organizations of the United States in Hispanic-American countries, as measured by the number of members, are meager.¹⁴⁶ The slow rate of progress has been partly due to the comparatively small sum of money devoted to Protestant work in Hispanic America. In the second decade of the twentieth century forty-seven Protestant societies in the United States and Canada were spending annually in Hispanic-American countries only two million dollars.¹⁴⁷ The results accomplished have been chiefly in the nominally Christian population. For the most part Protestant missionary effort has been confined to the chief strategic points along the seaboard and the river courses. Only to a very small extent have Protestant missionaries from the United States endeavored to convert the aborigines. The table on page 321 contains statistics that indicate the activities and achievements of Protestant organizations of the United States in Hispanic-American countries in the second decade of the twentieth century.

In various countries of Hispanic America the United States and her citizens have exercised a liberalizing influence upon Catholic customs. Because of religious ideals which the inhabi-

¹⁴⁵ As quoted by Conard, *Christian Pan Americanism*.

¹⁴⁶ A list of the societies in the United States, which were sending missionaries to Hispanic-American countries in 1916 is found in *Christian Work in Latin America*, vol. III, pp. 464-67.

¹⁴⁷ *Christian Work in Latin America*, vol. III, p. 474.

EDUCATIONAL CONTACT

EVANGELISTIC AND EDUCATIONAL SUMMARY OF PROTESTANT ORGANIZATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES IN HISPANIC-AMERICAN COUNTRIES¹⁶⁸

Country	Total of native staff missionaries foreign	Total of missionary stations and substi-	Church organiza-	Christian adherents	Sunday schools	Total under in- struction	Theological, nor- mal, and training schools	Students enrolled in the foregoing schools	Pupils enrolled in the foregoing	Elementary and vil- lage schools	Pupils enrolled in the foregoing	Students enrolled in the foregoing
Argentina.....	114	173	79	4,911	1,918	133	7,042	\$109,134	6,190	1	126	1
Bolivia.....	28	3	4	85	34	7	1,707	625	68	2	42	18
Brazil	308	292	245	291	25,945	636	418	15,619	165,719	5,542	19	2,939
Chile.....	99	129	145	70	4,247	2,046	150	7,259	55,733	1,814	54	1,164
Colombia.....	118	145	13	179	15,659	9,392	224	11,092	15,907	4,154	10	3
Cuba.....	168	200	376	179	15,659	9,392	44	1,237	4,116	584	1	1,507
Dominican Republic.....	23	37	40	15	2,282	582	44	1,237	762	..	1	10
Ecuador.....	12	6	7	2	40	19	4	30	128,327	12,698	7	41
Mexico.....	201	569	586	321	22,282	7,960	408	17,505	14,691	393	284	52
Central America, Panamá, Canal Zone.....	80	93	114	53	4,560	287	53	2,641	14,691	1,12	12	103
Paraguay.....	6	15	10	8	283	28	17	395	4,041	157	..	6
Peru.....	25	47	18	8	682	1,041	19	1,221	1,783	640	..	3
Uruguay.....	33	31	27	16	884	427	29	1,451	26,384	227	17	2
Venezuela.....	18	8	4	2	70	5	2	88	380	45	..	1
Total.....	1,117	1,648	1,876	1,051	82,246	24,433	1,516	66,688	\$582,785	28,858	19	571

¹⁶⁸ Compiled from *Christian Work in Latin America*, vol. III, pp. 478-509. The figures for the Dominican Republic also include Haiti.

tants of Hispanic America inherited from the motherlands, after those peoples established their independence, they oftentimes included in their constitutions articles which made Roman Catholicism the religion of the state. Further, such constitutions sometimes contained clauses which prohibited persons who professed another faith from engaging in religious worship. In certain Spanish-American states Protestants were actually enjoined from burying their dead in public cemeteries; for it was claimed that those cemeteries were dedicated to Roman Catholics.

A significant protest against such customs was made in 1824. On August 24 of that year the United States minister to Chile addressed a letter to the Chilean secretary of foreign relations concerning religious freedom. In that letter Minister Allen stated that "by the laws and usages of Chile, the citizens of his country, as well as other foreigners," were denied "the free exercise of their accustomed religious worship, and the solemn rites of interment." Allen declared that, so far as United States citizens were concerned, he felt in duty bound to bring to the attention of the Chilean Government the necessity of providing by law for the protection of those religious privileges which they had been accustomed to enjoy. In conclusion he expressed the hope that so just a request, founded upon those principles which formed "the great basis of national intercourse," would induce the Government of Chile to take such measures as would banish "every motive of complaint." With Allen's protest there was printed in a Chilean newspaper a communication from George Canning dated April 23, 1824, to England's consul general at Valparaiso upon the same subject.¹⁴⁹

In commenting upon these documents *El liberal* of Santiago expressed the hope that the government would immediately grant the just request of Chile's honored guests.¹⁵⁰ Possibly the agitation which was begun by Allen had some influence in Chile. Although the Chilean Constitution of 1828 declared that Roman Catholicism should be the state religion, yet in guarded terms that fundamental law provided that no one

¹⁴⁹ *El liberal*, September 4, 1824.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

should be persecuted or molested because of his private opinions.¹⁵¹ Article IV of Chile's Constitution of 1833 provided that the state religion was Roman Catholicism, "to the exclusion of the public exercise of any other."¹⁵² The struggle for liberty of conscience was not terminated in Chile for many years. For, besides the establishment of freedom of worship for Protestants, the struggle involved the passage of laws providing for civil marriage and religious liberty. In that fight a devoted missionary already mentioned, Rev. David Trumbull, played a conspicuous part.¹⁵³ Not until July 27, 1865, was a law enacted in Chile interpreting Article IV of the Constitution of 1833. This law provided that non-Catholic sects could worship in edifices of their own and that such sects might found and support private schools for the education of their children.¹⁵⁴ The influence of Protestants in Chile promoted later reforms. On January 16, 1884, the law of civil marriage was promulgated, a law which made possible the celebration in Chile of a legal marriage outside the fold of the Roman Catholic Church.¹⁵⁵ Other laws of the same year provided for the legal recognition of cemeteries which might be used for the interment of Protestants.¹⁵⁶ Thus partly as a result of the propaganda by citizens of the United States, the Chilean Government granted the reforms which Minister Allen had advocated. By 1893 other Hispanic-American states had made similar reforms in regard to Protestants.

The South American states that made the longest delay in removing the disabilities under which Protestants labored were Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia. Peru's Constitution of 1860 declared that the nation professed the Roman Catholic religion, that the state protected it and did not permit the public exercise of any other faith.¹⁵⁷ On April 2, 1894, at a meeting of Methodist ministers in Chicago, Rev. John F. Thompson started a propaganda for the establishment in South America of complete religious liberty. At his request a committee of

¹⁵¹ Anguita, *Leyes de Chile*, vol. I, p. 181. See also p. 81, *supra*.

¹⁵² Rodríguez, *American Constitutions*, vol. II, p. 207.

¹⁵³ Speer, pp. 62, 63.

¹⁵⁴ Anguita, vol. II, p. 200. ¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 592-95. ¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 596, 606-9.

¹⁵⁷ Rodríguez, *American Constitutions*, vol. I, p. 254.

three was appointed to bring the matter to the consideration of certain South American governments and of the Holy See. The twofold problem which had to be solved was: to establish complete liberty of worship in Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia; and to legalize the marriages of Protestants in those states.¹⁵⁸

The committee brought the matter to the attention of certain Catholic dignitaries, Archbishop Ireland, Monsignor Satolli, the Papal delegate, and the Pope, without avail. Ultimately through Cardinal Gibbons a response was secured from the Pope to the effect that the prevailing civil disabilities of Protestants in Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia were solely dependent upon the civil laws in force in those republics. Various newspapers of the United States published editorials in support of the plea of the Methodist ministers.¹⁵⁹ The committee appealed for aid to the secretary of the United States branch of the Evangelical Alliance who at once expressed his desire to cooperate in the movement. Through the officers of European branches of that alliance, the subject was brought to the attention of certain European governments, notably the Government of England.¹⁶⁰ On June 15, 1897, after the marriage of two Protestants in Lima in accordance with Protestant rites had been declared to be invalid by Peruvian authorities, an appeal was made to the President of the United States. He was asked that his government should use its influence with the governments of certain South American republics "in the interest of religious liberty to missionaries working there, to native Christians who dissent from the Roman Catholic faith, and to secure the fullest civil liberty to American citizens, especially in the legalization of marriages performed by others than the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church."¹⁶¹

On June 21, 1897, Secretary of State Day informed the committee that he had already advised the minister of the United States at Lima of his hope that the Government of Peru would soon adopt a marriage law which was more in conformity with the practice of modern nations. Day also stated that a copy of Lee's letter would be forwarded to the American legation at

¹⁵⁸ Lee, *Religious Liberty in South America*, pp. v, 11.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 37, 41, 73-83.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 140-42.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

Lima.¹⁶² At last, after much opposition by the clerical party, on December 23, 1897, the Peruvian Government enacted a law concerning civil marriage. That law not only provided for the future solemnization of marriages before civil magistrates but it also made possible the legalization of marriages that had already been performed by Protestant ministers.¹⁶³

Protestants labored under disabilities in Ecuador even longer than in Peru. An article of the Concordat of the Papacy with the Government of Ecuador dated September 26, 1862, provided that the Roman Catholic religion should continue to be the religion of Ecuador and that the republic would not permit the practice of any religion or the existence of any society which had been condemned by the Catholic Church.¹⁶⁴ The Ecuadorian Constitution of 1897 declared that the religion of the state was Roman Catholicism, "with the exclusion of all other worship contrary to morals."¹⁶⁵ The Lee committee addressed a letter to the President of the United States on August 24, 1898, urging that endeavors should be made to secure for Protestants in Ecuador and Bolivia the identical liberty of conscience which Roman Catholics enjoyed in the United States.¹⁶⁶ On April 5, 1901, this committee sent an inquiry to the State Department about the laws in Ecuador and Bolivia concerning the registration of marriages and freedom of worship. Five days later, a reply was sent conveying the assurance that instructions had been sent to the United States ministers in Quito and La Paz to report upon those matters.¹⁶⁷ Possibly the attitude of the United States was not without influence in Ecuador. At any rate on October 3, 1902, the president of that country signed a law providing for civil marriage, which was to go into effect on January 1, 1903.¹⁶⁸ On October 13, 1904, a law concerning religion was promulgated in Ecuador which made provision for the toleration of every faith that was not contrary to her laws or to morality and for the protection of ministers of religions which were tolerated.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 149.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 167-69.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

¹⁶⁵ Rodríguez, *American Constitutions*, vol. II, p. 280.

¹⁶⁶ Lee, p. 184.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 241-48.

¹⁶⁹ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1905, pp. 414-16.

In Bolivia the Constitution of 1880 declared that the state recognized and supported Roman Catholicism, and, in general, prohibited the public exercise of any other worship.¹⁷⁰ With regard to Protestant disabilities in Bolivia, in his message to Congress, December 5, 1899, President McKinley said that the envoy of his government at La Paz had been instructed "to use all permissible friendly endeavors" to induce the Bolivian Government to amend its marriage laws so as to give a legal status to "the non-Catholic and civil marriages of aliens within its jurisdiction."¹⁷¹ Responding to an inquiry from Lee, on September 21, 1901, the State Department informed him that the United States minister to Bolivia had reported that recently he had "again appealed to the Bolivian Government in relation to the enactment of laws permitting freedom of worship and the civil marriage of Protestants ratified by a Protestant clergyman."¹⁷² It is evident that the American minister at La Paz was frequently instructed to use his influence to promote the desired reforms. On August 27, 1906, the president of Bolivia signed a law which modified the second article of the Constitution. This law declared that, while Bolivia recognized and supported the Catholic religion, yet she permitted the public exercise of every other faith.¹⁷³

This chapter has indicated that a relatively small number of emigrants from the United States have settled at various points in Hispanic America. To a very limited extent certain literary productions of the United States have furnished suggestions or models to Hispanic-American literati. With regard to education, through prominent leaders, notably Sarmiento and Varela, the United States has exerted some influence upon certain educational systems of South America. After those educators had passed away, other publicists in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay promoted educational reform by using equipment, methods, and teachers from the North. The United States has accordingly

¹⁷⁰ Rodriguez, *American Constitutions*, vol. II, p. 413.

¹⁷¹ *Congressional Record*, vol. XXXIII, pt. I, p. 25.

¹⁷² Lee, p. 196.

¹⁷³ *Anuario de leyes, decretos y resoluciones supremas*, 1906, pp. 233, 234; Lee, pp. 209, 210.

exerted an educational influence in South America that is pervasive but difficult to estimate exactly. Several Protestant sects in the United States, notably the Methodists and the Presbyterians, have reenforced the movement for educational reform by the establishment of schools or other educational institutions in connection with their missions. Churches planted by those sects in Hispanic America, as well as the attractive homes of the Young Men's Christian Association, have frequently served as centers for the dissemination of the cultural ideals of the United States. Partly because of the attitude assumed by certain Protestant sects which had missions in South America the Government of the United States promoted religious toleration and liberty for Protestants in certain Hispanic-American countries.

CHAPTER IX

GEOGRAPHIC EXPLORATIONS AND OTHER SCIENTIFIC ACHIEVEMENTS OF A CENTURY

The Wilkes Expedition to the Pacific Ocean and the South Seas—Lieutenants Herndon and Gibbon cross central South America—Lieutenant Page explores la Plata River System—James Orton descends the Amazon—Agassiz collects specimens in Brazil—His followers—Bailey Willis surveys Patagonia—Haseman journeys through central South America—The Roosevelt-Rondon Expedition explores the River of Doubt—Frank Chapman Investigates Hispanic-American bird life—Squier studies archaeology in Peru—Bingham discovers Machu Picchu—Adolf Bandelier—John L. Stephens visits aboriginal ruins in Central America and Mexico—Hardenburg exposes the Putumayo atrocities—The discovery of the Yellow Fever stegomysia—The sanitary work against yellow fever—The Rockefeller Foundation fights disease in the American tropics.

The man on the street scarcely appreciates the extent to which Hispanic America has been a field of study for scholars. By governmental action, by the activities of learned institutions, and by the explorations of daring travelers attractive vistas have been opened in that vast region to men of science. The limits of this volume prohibit consideration of all the additions to the world's knowledge concerning Mexico, Central America, and South America which have been made by the citizens or the Government of the United States. Certain scientific achievements, however, may not be omitted or lightly mentioned: among those are expeditions by which contributions have been made to the knowledge of geography and related sciences.

The first exploring expedition that was sent to South America by the United States Government was dispatched under Lieutenant Charles Wilkes. On March 20, 1838, Secretary of the Navy Dickerson placed Wilkes in command of an expedition of six vessels, which, in accordance with an act of Congress dated May 14, 1836, was destined to explore and survey the Pacific Ocean and the South Seas in order to promote the commerce of citizens of the United States engaged in the whale fisheries. This expedition was composed of the sloops of war

Vincennes and *Peacock*, the brig *Porpoise*, the storeship *Relief*, and the tenders *Sea Gull* and *Flying Fish*.¹

Instructions dated August 11, 1838, directed Wilkes to sail for the Southern Ocean by way of Rio de Janeiro. Thence he should proceed to Patagonia where he was to make a survey of the Río Negro in order to ascertain its character and its facilities for trade. Next he should voyage to Tierra del Fuego in order that the scientists of the expedition might carry on researches. A part of the expedition was destined to explore the southern Antarctic, while the officers of certain vessels were to survey the coast of Tierra del Fuego. The expedition was to visit Valparaiso while engaged in its main task, the exploration of the South Sea in the interests of commerce and navigation. A philologist, Horatio Hale, a conchologist, a mineralogist, James D. Dana, a botanist, two naturalists, one of whom was Charles Pickering, and two draughtsmen were selected to accompany the expedition. The secretary of the navy said: "The Expedition is not for conquest, but discovery. Its objects are all peaceful; they are to extend the empire of commerce and science; to diminish the hazards of the ocean, and point out to future navigators a course by which they may avoid dangers and find safety."²

The expedition left Norfolk on the afternoon of August 18, 1838, and, sailing for Rio de Janeiro by way of Madeira, it reached that city on November 23. There the philologist secured data concerning the slave population. Two officers gathered botanical specimens while on a trip to the summit of the promontory known as Sugar Loaf. A naturalist and the botanist made collecting excursions to the Trexal and Organ Mountains, whence they returned burdened with specimens.³ On January 6, 1839, five vessels of the expedition sailed for the Río Negro which they reached on the twenty-fifth of that month. When the estuary of that river had been surveyed and the coast visited, the expedition left for Tierra del Fuego.

¹ Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, vol. I, pp. xiii–xxv; *Statutes at Large of the United States*, vol. v, p. 29.

² Wilkes, vol. I, pp. xxviii–xxix.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 59–64, 68.

After passing Cape Horn, the party of Captain Wilkes was rejoined by the *Relief* which had coasted along the shores of Patagonia making surveys, observations, and collections. While the vessels made their rendezvous at Orange Harbor, investigations and surveys were made of the neighboring coast and the members of a select party prepared for a cruise to the Antarctic. That party soon sailed south, discovered three small isles which were named Adventure Islets, and proceeded to about latitude 69°.⁴

On April 20 the *Vincennes* and the *Peacock* left Orange Harbor. The *Vincennes* arrived at Valparaiso on May 15 and was soon joined by other vessels of the expedition. There, as elsewhere, careful scientific observations were taken. Certain members of the party made a journey into Chile visiting the plains of Maipú, Santiago, and the copper mines near San Felipe.⁵ Captain Wilkes sailed from Valparaiso on June 6 for Callao which he reached after a voyage of thirteen days. Thence scientists of the expedition made an excursion to the mountains to gather botanical specimens; and on their journey they saw the copper mines at Cerro de Pasco. Another party visited the ruins of aboriginal civilization at Pachacamac.⁶ Aside from the ethnological, philological, botanical, and mineralogical data gathered by the scientists, it should be noticed that this trip gave a stimulus to the geological studies of Dana. After his return to the United States Captain Wilkes composed several volumes concerning his trip to the South Seas. The first volume contained a description of the excursions in South America and accounts of the history and life of the countries which were visited upon that continent.

As indicated in a previous chapter, about the middle of the nineteenth century the Government of the United States became seriously interested in the navigation of South American rivers. To determine the importance of the free navigation of the Amazon, that government planned an expedition across South America. On April 4, 1851, Lieutenant Lardner Gibbon of the United States navy arrived in Peru and delivered to

⁴ Wilkes, vol. I, pp. 69-154.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 160-61, 177-98.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 229-81.

Lieutenant William L. Herndon orders from Secretary of the Navy Graham directing him to conduct an exploration of the Amazon Valley. Those orders declared that the Government of the United States wished to secure certain information concerning the territory drained by the Amazon River. The information sought was not only in regard to the navigability of the streams in the Amazon Valley, "its climate, soil, and productions," and the industrial and social condition of its inhabitants, but also in regard to the capacity of its soil for cultivation and "the character and extent of its undeveloped commercial resources, whether of the field, the forest, the river, or the mine." Such scientific observations were to be taken en route as might serve the chief object of the expedition. In order to secure the desired information Herndon and Gibbon were directed to proceed across the cordillera and to "explore the Amazon from its source to its mouth."⁷ The selection of the route by which the explorers might reach the Amazon River was left to Herndon's discretion.

After a study of the routes from the Pacific coast to the Amazon, Lieutenant Herndon decided to divide his small party. His plan was to send Gibbon to search for a navigable stream which was said to flow from the Andes near Cuzco and to empty into the Amazon River, while he should proceed through northern Peru to the source of the Amazon and then descend that river to its mouth.⁸ Herndon hired Manuel Ijurra, a young Peruvian who had voyaged down the Amazon, to serve as interpreter to the Indians; he also engaged an Indian servant and a master's mate named Richards. From ships anchored at Callao he secured carbines, pistols, ammunition, a tent, and many fathoms of sounding line. He purchased four young saddle mules and a generous supply of coarse cotton cloth, fishhooks, beads, and trinkets. The travelers equipped themselves with flannel shirts, ponchos, straw hats, and green veils. They made a chest to hold such articles as the sextant and spy-glass and packed their passports, furnished by the Peruvian

⁷ Herndon and Gibbon, *Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon*, vol. 1, p. 20.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 34.

Government, as well as paper for charts, in tin cases. They also provided themselves with a quantity of biscuit, a keg of brandy, a box of dissecting instruments, and a medicine chest. A mule driver was secured who agreed to furnish mules to transport their baggage from Lima to Tarma.⁹

On May 21, 1851, mounted on muleback in deep seated Peruvian saddles, Herndon and Gibbon started from Lima. They were followed by a string of seven mules bearing the trunks and boxes and bags with their supplies. The travelers reached Tarma on June 6. After visiting certain places of interest near that town, on July 1, when Herndon was entering the valley of the Acobamba River, Gibbon shook hands with him and returned to Tarma. With tears in his eyes Herndon, who was accompanied by Ijurra, proceeded on his journey. Making a toilsome trip by way of Cerro de Pasco he reached the Hullaga River, a tributary of the Amazon. Herndon's party embarked on the Hullaga River on August 4 in two dugout canoes. Each canoe was manned by a steersman, a keen eyed bowman, and several oarsmen who were busy only at dangerous points. On September 3 the explorers reached the junction between the Hullaga and the Marañon, or main trunk of the Amazon River, which was about seven hundred miles from the point of embarkation. They arrived at Tabatinga on the Brazilian frontier on December 4; and on April 11, they landed at Pará.¹⁰

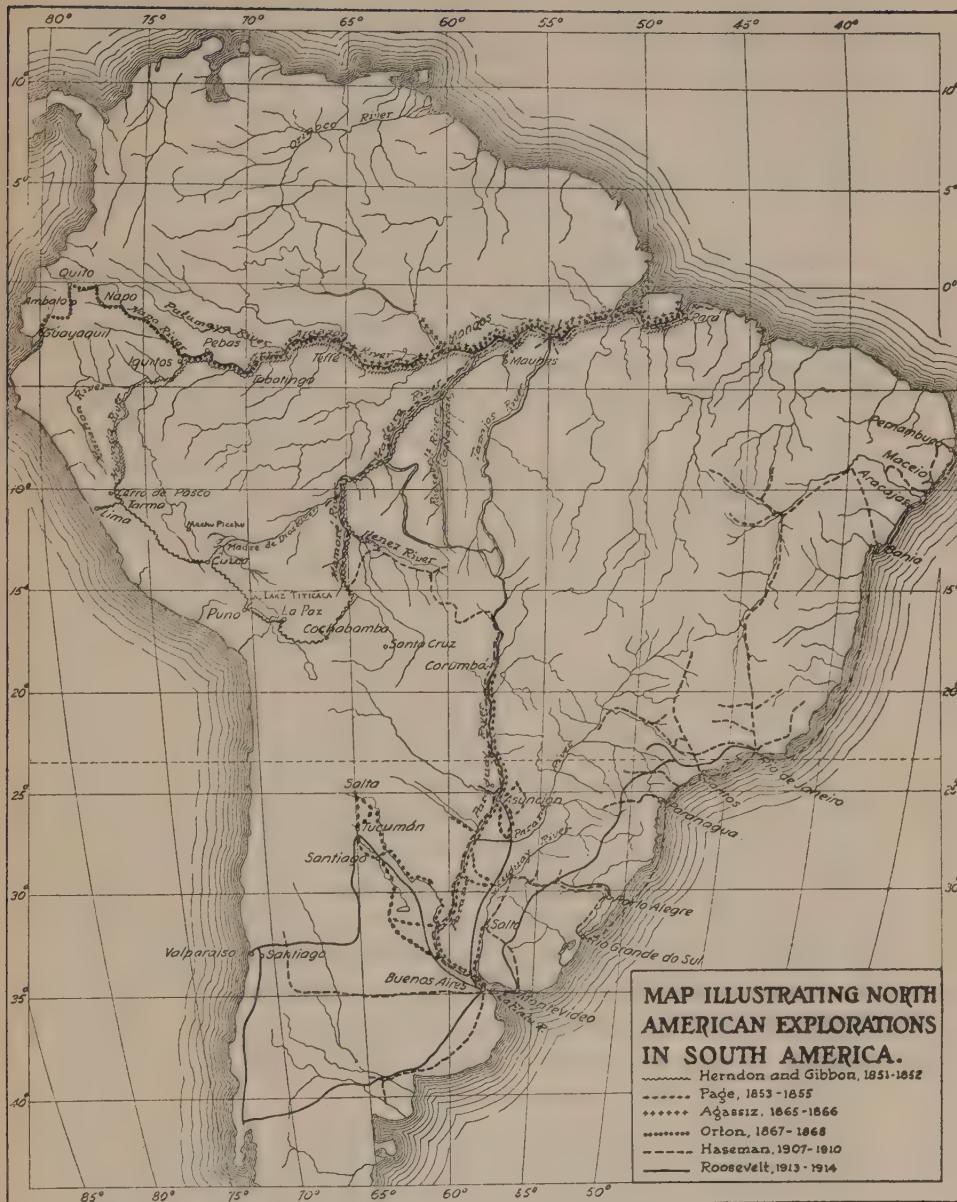
In his account of the trip Herndon suggested the sublimity of the scene which was presented by the Amazon River flowing league after league on its march to the sea. He painted a bright picture of the economic future of the Amazon Valley:

Its industrial future is the most dazzling; and to the touch of steam, settlement, and cultivation, this rolling stream and its magnificent water-shed would start up into a display of industrial results that would indicate the Valley of the Amazons as one of the most enchanting regions on the face of the earth.

From its mountains you may dig silver, iron, coal, copper, quicksilver, zinc, and tin; from the sands of its tributaries you may wash

⁹ Herndon and Gibbon, vol. I, pp. 22-37.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 91, 132, 333.



**MAP ILLUSTRATING NORTH
AMERICAN EXPLORATIONS
IN SOUTH AMERICA.**

— Herndon and Gibbon, 1851-1852
— Page, 1853-1855
····· Agassiz, 1865-1866
····· Orton, 1867-1868
- - Haseman, 1907-1910
— Roosevelt, 1913-1914

gold, diamonds, and precious stones; from its forests you may gather drugs of virtues the most rare, spices of aroma the most exquisite, gums and resins of the most varied and useful properties, dyes of hues the most brilliant, with cabinet and building-woods of the finest polish and most enduring texture.

Its climate is an everlasting summer, and its harvest perennial.¹¹

While Herndon was traveling through northern Peru, his former comrade proceeded from Tarma to Cuzco. As Lieutenant Gibbon decided not to descend the river Madre de Dios to the Amazon, accompanied by Richards, he traveled overland from Cuzco to Cochabamba by way of La Paz.¹² From Cochabamba they descended through forests of cinchona trees to a source of the Amazon. There the explorers embarked in a huge log canoe upon a stream that emptied into a branch of the Mamoré River. After reaching the Mamoré they were so fortunate as to secure passage in the canoe of a friendly Brazilian trader. At Exaltación the lieutenant transferred his party to a smaller boat which turned into the Itenez River. On September 7, Gibbon's boat, flying a United States flag from an Indian arrow, was hailed by Fort Príncipe da Beira on the boundary between Bolivia and Brazil.¹³

On September 20 Gibbon reached the falls of Guajará Mirim, the first of a series of rapids on the Mamoré through which he could not navigate his burdened boats in safety. Around those terrible cataracts the baggage of the party had to be transported, while the boats were dragged through rough water and lifted over the rocks. A similar mode of travel had to be used to pass the rapids of the Madeira River into which the Mamoré emptied. The voyage of five hundred miles from São Antonio Falls to the mouth of the Madeira River was completed by October 21.¹⁴ At that point, in accordance with his instructions, Gibbon ceased to make notes upon his trip.

The reports of Gibbon and Herndon, printed by the Government of the United States, contained interesting descriptions of the natural resources of the interior of South America as well as

¹¹ Herndon and Gibbon, vol. I, pp. 176, 177.
¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 259-72.

¹³ *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 1-143.
¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 281-302.

illuminating commentaries upon the customs of its inhabitants. Gibbon vividly realized that the cataracts of the Madeira and the Mamoré were insuperable obstacles to navigation. He suggested that navigation upon the Amazon could be linked to navigation upon its Bolivian tributaries by a road cut from São Antonio to Guajará Mirim, thus furnishing the eastern slopes of Bolivia an outlet to the markets of the world.¹⁵

Another proof of the interest of the United States in Hispanic America was furnished in 1852 when her secretary of the navy placed Lieutenant Thomas J. Page in charge of an expedition for the exploration of certain South American rivers. In Secretary Kennedy's instructions to Lieutenant Page the latter was informed that the expedition was to "survey and explore the river la Plata and its tributaries."¹⁶ Page was instructed that a chief object of his expedition was to explore the Plata, Paraguay, and Paraná rivers and their principal tributaries; to determine the courses of the rivers, as well as their extent and navigability; and to examine the regions adjacent to those rivers in order to acquire accurate information concerning "the nature and extent of agriculture, and, consequently, the probable extent to which commercial intercourse" between the United States and these regions might be desirable. He was directed to take astronomical and other scientific observations, to collect botanical and mineralogical specimens, and to make sketches of the country, its inhabitants, and its geological formations. "Although the primary objects of the expedition are the promotion of the great interests of commerce and navigation," said the secretary of the navy, "yet you will take all occasions, not incompatible with the great purpose of the undertaking, to extend the bounds of science, and promote the acquisition of knowledge. . . . The expedition is not for conquest, but discovery."¹⁷

For his expedition Lieutenant Page was assigned a small side wheel steamer of four hundred tons, the *Water Witch*, which

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 302, 313.

¹⁶ Report . . . Committee on Foreign Relations . . . relative to our Difficulties with Paraguay, p. 7.

¹⁷ Page, *La Plata, the Argentine Confederation, and Paraguay*, pp. 567, 568.

was furnished with three bronze howitzers, some astronomical instruments, and materials for the preservation of flora and fauna. It was "officered, manned, and equipped in the usual manner" of a vessel in the United States navy. On February 8, 1853, the *Water Witch* left Norfolk, Virginia, bound for South America.¹⁸ As the steamer had to coal frequently, it did not reach Rio de Janeiro until April. Through the United States legation in that capital Lieutenant Page directed the attention of the Brazilian Government to the expedition in the hope that it might facilitate his progress when he reached the interior waters of the empire. In response the Imperial government merely granted him permission to ascend the Paraguay River as far as Albuquerque, a point to which that river had been opened to foreign commerce.¹⁹ After having provisioned and coaled his vessel, Page sailed from Rio de Janeiro for Buenos Aires which he reached on May 25.²⁰

Lieutenant Page remained in la Plata River for a few months to aid the diplomatic representative of the United States at Buenos Aires in negotiations with General Urquiza. Before his departure from Buenos Aires, on September 1, 1853, Page secured an order from Urquiza to officials of the riparian provinces of Argentina directing them to furnish him every assistance.²¹ His vessel proceeded up the Paraná River about eight hundred miles to its junction with the Paraguay. Then the *Water Witch* ascended that river some nine hundred miles to the Brazilian military post of Corumbá. Lieutenant Page attempted to explore the upper course of the Paraná River, but was prevented by the prohibitory decree of Dictator López who had become enraged at Page's action in assisting Hopkins' colonists to retire from Asunción. Some members of the expedition explored the interior of Paraguay, and Page even visited the ruins of Jesuit missions upon the banks of the Paraná.

¹⁸ Report . . . Committee on Foreign Relations . . . relative to our Difficulties with Paraguay, p. 7.

¹⁹ Page, pp. 26-29; Colección de los documentos relativos á la navegación fluvial, pp. 189-91.

²⁰ Page, p. 35.

²¹ Report . . . Committee on Foreign Relations . . . relative to our Difficulties with Paraguay, p. 12.

One of his companions made a trip into Argentine territory upon its left bank. The *Water Witch* ascended the Uruguay River to a rocky ledge about two hundred and fifty miles from its confluence with la Plata River. Upon a small steamer Lieutenant Page and some companions explored the Saledo River as far as navigation would permit, and, returning to Santa Fé, then proceeded overland to the town of Santiago upon its upper waters. During this trip Page became convinced that the Saledo might easily be rendered navigable during high water to a point nine hundred miles above Santa Fé. On October 3, 1855, the *Argentino independiente* of Tucumán welcomed Page to that city, declaring that he was the first person to penetrate the Argentine deserts by steam. Thence he proceeded as far as Salta.²² Further, Page's expedition demonstrated that there was an open channel in la Plata River, east of the island Martín García. As this channel formed the boundary between Argentina and Uruguay, that fact assured Uruguay a claim to concurrent jurisdiction over the entrance to the great tributaries of la Plata River.²³

According to his own figures the expedition of Lieutenant Page surveyed river courses aggregating three thousand six hundred miles and made exploration by land amounting to four thousand four hundred miles.²⁴ In his report to the secretary of the navy in August, 1856, Page made valuable comments upon the climate, resources, commerce, and future importance of the territory which was drained by the affluents of la Plata River. He said that Paraguay presented "a field for enterprise of which other portions of the world" were "profoundly ignorant,"²⁵ offering, like Argentina, an abundant harvest which should be reaped by the merchants of the United States. He declared that—contrary to the prevailing impression—commerce could be carried on by United States vessels with riparian ports of Argentina and Paraguay.²⁶ Page pointed out that, having ascended the Paraguay River in a warship to Corumbá, he had discovered an outlet by steam navigation for some of the richest

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 12-34.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

23

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 27.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-21.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

and most inaccessible of the Brazilian provinces. Declaring that the United States had opened for herself "a vast field for trade in all the products of temperate and tropical zones," he predicted that those products, "with the hidden wealth of the frozen regions of the Andes," would find "a rapid and safe transit to the Atlantic."²⁷ Not satisfied with the official report which his government printed in 1858, in the following year Lieutenant Page published a substantial volume entitled *La Plata, the Argentine Confederation, and Paraguay*, which contained an extended account of his remarkable trip. That volume spread in the United States geographical and other information concerning the basin of la Plata.

By expeditions to the South the United States has increased and diffused geographical and other knowledge concerning Hispanic America. A similar service has been performed through reports of her agents to Hispanic-American countries which have been published in her diplomatic and consular papers. More accessible to the general reader have been articles or volumes published by such agents after their return to the United States. After Joel R. Poinsett had acted as a confidential agent for President Monroe to Mexico in 1822, he published an interesting volume concerning his mission which made English speaking people acquainted with conditions in that empire.²⁸ The first paper read before the American Geographical and Statistical Society, which was incorporated in 1852, was a memoir by Edward A. Hopkins upon the "Geography, History, Productions, and Trade of Paraguay." It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that by this suggestive memoir Hopkins introduced his fellow citizens to Paraguay; he directed special attention to her great natural wealth: her herbs, vegetables, dyestuffs, gums, and woods.²⁹ Upon his return from Quito, where he served efficiently for several years as United States minister, Frederick Hassaurek published a volume conveying his impressions of life among the Spanish Americans, a volume which still remains a

²⁷ Report . . . Committee on Foreign Relations . . . relative to our Difficulties with Paraguay, p. 38.

²⁸ Poinsett, *Notes on Mexico, made in the Autumn of 1822*.

²⁹ Hopkins, "Memoir on the Geography, History, Productions, and Trade of Paraguay," in *Bulletin of the American Geographical and Statistical Society*, vol. I, pp. 14-44.

mine of ethnographical, geographical, and historical information concerning the little-known state of Ecuador.³⁰ Unfortunately an extensive correspondence of United States diplomatic and consular agents in Hispanic-American countries with their government still remains unpublished in the files of the Department of State at Washington.

We shall next notice certain journeys into South America which were made by citizens of the United States under the auspices of her learned institutions or by the cooperation of Hispanic-American governments. On behalf of the Lyceum of Natural History at Williams College, on July 1, 1867, James Orton and four companions sailed from New York City for the Isthmus of Panamá. That small party was bound on a scientific expedition across South America which was supported by the Smithsonian Institution. After crossing the Isthmus of Panamá and visiting Paita, Peru, this party sailed to Guayaquil, which it reached on the evening of July 19. The first glimpse of that city brought to Orton's mind "visions of Oriental splendour" which the morning light changed into "a dissolving view."³¹

From a balcony in Guayaquil Orton and his companions admired the lofty Chimborazo. They soon proceeded by steamer seventy miles up the Guayas River to Bodegas. At that place they equipped themselves for a trip on muleback up the mountains to Quito. After riding through the squalid village of La Mona, the travelers followed a trail which led through a virgin forest. In graceful phrases Orton thus recorded his impressions:

Delight is a weak term to express the feelings of a naturalist who for the first time wanders in a South American forest. The superb banana, the great charm of equatorial vegetation, tossed out luxuriantly its glossy green leaves, eight feet in length; the slender but graceful bamboo shot heavenward, straight as an arrow; and many species of palm bore aloft their feathery heads, inexpressibly light and elegant. On the branches of the independent trees sat tufts of parasites, many of them orchids, which are here epiphytic; and countless creeping

³⁰ Hassaurek, *Four Years among Spanish-Americans*.

³¹ Orton, *The Andes and the Amazon*, pp. xi, 25, 26.

plants, whose long flexible stems entwined snake-like around the trunks, or formed gigantic loops and coils among the limbs. Beneath this world of foliage above, thick beds of mimosae covered the ground, and a boundless variety of ferns attracted the eye by their beautiful patterns.³²

Mounted on sure footed mules the travelers slowly climbed the precipitous trail, which for centuries had served as an Ecuadorian highway. They proceeded over the elevated plain, or *páramo*, of Sanancajas, through the oasis at Ambato, and along the road from Latacunga to Quito—"the city above the clouds." There Orton made interesting studies of its inhabitants, fruits, flowers, birds, and reptiles. The collections which his party had gathered at Quito were sent to the Ecuadorian coast just before they left that city for the Amazonian wilderness.³³

On October 30 Orton and his companions left Quito on horseback bound for the Indian village of Papallacta, bearing an order from the president of Ecuador to officials in the eastern part of that country to aid them in every possible manner.³⁴ They spent thirteen days in a trip on foot from Papallacta to the village of Napo. The explorers embarked on the Napo River on November 20 in three cedar canoes which were manned by eight Indians. At the junction of the Napo River with the Coca they disembarked and spent two days building a raft for the voyage to the Amazon. They reembarked on November 28, and on December 12—a month and a half after leaving Quito—they reached Pebas, which was about two hundred miles from the Brazilian frontier. From Pebas they went down the Amazon on the Peruvian steamer *Morona* for Tabatinga; there they transferred to the Brazilian steamer *Icamiaiba* and sailed down the central channel of the Amazon River. After visiting Manáos and other points on that river Orton proceeded to Pará, and thence he returned to the United States.³⁵

Professor Orton was the first English speaking person to make the wonderful trip from Quito to the Amazon's mouth. This

³² Orton, p. 38.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 176, n.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 177-254.

was the very route by which, in 1541, Orellana had made the first descent of the Great River. Although several explorers had descended the Amazon River before Orton, yet in North America his trip had many of the effects of a voyage of discovery. For Orton wrote a remarkable book describing "the physical aspect, the resources, and the inhabitants" of the vast region which he had traversed. Not only did he present a fascinating account of his trip, which was interspersed with suggestive comment upon South American customs and supplemented by statistical data, but at various points he made contributions to scientific knowledge concerning South America. His collections of birds, fishes, reptiles, plants, shells, fossils, and volcanic rocks were sent to the Smithsonian Institution, which distributed them among various scientists for study. Orton found intercalated between the Amazon clays at Pebas a fossiliferous bed which was full of "marine tertiary shells." Thus he found evidence to support the view that the drift formation in the Amazon Valley was of salt water origin, and not of fresh water origin, as Agassiz maintained.³⁶

A journey to Brazil of Louis Agassiz, a native of Switzerland who had become a citizen of the United States by naturalization, has a peculiar charm. Agassiz thus described the origin of his expedition. In the winter of 1865, because of ill health, it became necessary for him to seek a change of environment. Toward South America he was drawn by a desire that had been born when, as a student at the University of Munich, he had been employed by his teacher, the German scientist Karl von Martius, "to describe the fishes" which J. W. de Spix had collected during his journey in Brazil. A work on Spix's Brazilian fishes, written in Latin and dedicated to Cuvier, was indeed the first important contribution of Agassiz to natural history.³⁷ Agassiz's desire to visit South America was stimulated by the conviction that Pedro II, Emperor of Brazil, would patronize a scientific expedition into his dominions. The journey of which Agassiz had fondly dreamed was made pos-

³⁶ Orton, pp. 282, 283.

³⁷ Agassiz, *Louis Agassiz*, vol. 1, pp. 74, 75, 80.

sible through the offer of Nathaniel Thayer, a patron of science, who learned of Agassiz's desire and volunteered to pay the expenses of his assistants.³⁸

By Thayer's generosity Agassiz secured as assistants an artist, an ornithologist, a preparator, a conchologist, and two geologists, Messrs. St. John and Hartt. In addition, during a part of his trip, Agassiz was accompanied by several volunteers and friends.³⁹ His party left New York City on board the steamship *Colorado* on April 1, 1865, and disembarked at Rio de Janeiro on April 23.⁴⁰ In that city certain members of the party arranged a "laboratory of Natural History," while their leader conferred with Brazilian officials about the expedition. Agassiz had decided to divide his party into three groups: one group was to explore the upper courses of the Rio Doce, the Rio das Velhas, and the São Francisco with the lower course of the Tocantins and its tributaries; a second group was to explore the lower courses of the Doce and São Francisco rivers; and a third party under his immediate direction was to undertake a survey of the Amazon and its tributaries. As some members of his party were destined for regions which were little known, Agassiz spent much time studying the routes to be pursued, securing maps of the territory to be explored, and procuring letters of introduction to influential persons. In all of his preparations he was given cordial cooperation by prominent Brazilian personages.⁴¹

Pedro II kindly consented that Major Coutinho, a government engineer who had long been employed in the exploration of Amazonian rivers, should accompany the group led by Agassiz.⁴² On July 25 that group left Rio de Janeiro bound for Pará. A scientist's laboratory had hardly been set up there when Agassiz made an excursion to the adjacent entrance of the Amazon River which he described as an "archipelago of islands in an ocean of fresh water."⁴³ At once by the aid of generous Brazilians and of members of his expedition Agassiz began his task of making a collection of fish. During his first week at

³⁸ Agassiz, *Louis Agassiz*, vol. II, pp. 625-27; Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil*, pp. v-vii.

³⁹ Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil*, p. viii.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 60, 93, 94.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. viii, 46.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 123.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

Pará he collected about sixty-three species of fish. This was a number greater than had been previously described as belonging to the vast Amazonian basin.

In the morning of August 20 Agassiz's company left Pará in a vessel which was placed at its disposal by the Brazilian Government. This vessel was soon winding its way among the countless islands in the estuary of the Amazon River. At various points in the ascent of the river the vessel stopped in order that Agassiz might collect fish. Ordinarily he did not collect those fish in person but adopted the much more expeditious method of employing local fishermen to catch them while he superintended the care of the specimens as they arrived at the ship. Early in September the scientists reached Manáos.⁴⁴ They had collected specimens of some three hundred species of fish by September 8: in the words of Agassiz "before having ascended the Amazon for one third of its course, the number of fishes "was more than triple that of all the species known thus far."⁴⁵ On September 12 Agassiz left Manáos for Tabatinga. During that trip he debated whether or not he should leave the upper Amazon in order to proceed to Peru to collect fish in her mountain streams and to look for glacial deposits in her valleys. But the discovery of a fish with its mouth full of young ones made Agassiz decide to confine his investigations to Brazil. To him this incident confirmed "the most incredible fact in embryology."⁴⁶ On September 20 the party arrived at Tabatinga, the most westerly point which they reached in the Amazon Valley.

Agassiz's diary, as kept by his wife, was a fascinating account of their experiences. This diary, which was embodied in a volume entitled *A Journey in Brazil*, helped to make that book a unique contribution to the world's knowledge concerning South America. While in certain particulars the primitive life of the people in the valley did not differ from that of other aborigines, yet in the Amazonians' picturesque mode of life there were some unique traits. The impressions made upon Agassiz and his wife by the scenery, as well as by the flora and fauna, of the Amazon Valley were extremely vivid.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 126-85.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

Let us quote a few passages from the remarkable diary. Here is a passage describing the Amazonian wilderness: "Its watery labyrinth is rather a fresh-water ocean, cut up and divided by land, than a network of rivers. Indeed, this whole valley is an aquatic, not a terrestrial basin."⁴⁷ The unique character of that basin is further indicated by Mrs. Agassiz's pen picture of a short excursion "through a strange half-aquatic, half-terrestrial region, where land seemed at odds with water. Groups of trees rose directly from the lake, their roots hidden below its surface, while numerous blackened and decayed trunks stood up from the water in all sorts of picturesque and fantastic forms. . . . Here and there, where we coasted along by the bank, we had a glimpse into the deeper forest, with its drapery of lianas and various creeping vines, and its parasitic sipos twining close around the trunks or swinging themselves from branch to branch like loose cordage. . . . Here and there a palm lifted its head above the line of the forest, especially the light, graceful, Assai, its crown of feathery leaves vibrating above the tall, slender, smooth stem with every breeze."⁴⁸ Other features of Amazonian life are suggested by a description of the luxuriant setting of a *Victoria regia* in a "dense mass of forest, with palm and parasite, with birds of glowing plumage, with insects of all bright and wonderful tints, and with fishes which, though hidden in the water beneath it, are not less brilliant and varied than the world of life above."⁴⁹ Another passage describes Agassiz as a collector: "This marshy, overflowed ground, above which the water had a depth of from four to six feet, was full of life. As the rowers pushed our canoe through the mass of grass and flowers, Mr. Agassiz gathered from the blades and stalks all sorts of creatures; small bright-colored toads of several kinds, grasshoppers, beetles, dragon-flies, aquatic snails, bunches of eggs,—in short, an endless variety of living things, most interesting to the naturalist . . . and he soon had a large jar filled with objects quite new to him."⁵⁰

This volume also contains some suggestive generalizations of the great naturalist. His biological studies in the Amazon

⁴⁷ Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil*, p. 256.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 356.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 360.

Valley led him to conclude that there were in South America the zoological, and, possibly also, the botanical equivalents of the fauna and the flora of the temperate zone.⁵¹ He maintained that, as the Amazon basin was flooded during one half of the year, it should properly be treated not as dry land but as a submerged district.⁵² He made some interesting observations upon the hybrid types produced by the blending of Indians, negroes, and whites.⁵³ His investigations about the distribution of fishes in Brazil convinced him that in the Amazon basin the opposite banks of the same stream were sometimes the abode of "an essentially different ichthyological population."⁵⁴ He decided that the migrations of the fishes in the Amazon waters were "very limited" and that certain kinds of fish were found simultaneously throughout its entire basin.⁵⁵ In a letter to Emperor Pedro II from Pará, February 23, 1866, Agassiz estimated that he had collected fish belonging to about two thousand species.⁵⁶ During the trip on the Amazon the artist of the expedition made over eight hundred paintings of fishes.⁵⁷ Besides the party collected some botanical specimens, especially of palms.⁵⁸ Agassiz also made certain geological studies.

His geological observations caused him to reach the conclusion that during the ice age the Amazon Valley had been covered by an immense glacier. Stated briefly, his hypothesis was that the widely scattered drift of reddish clay through which the waters of the Amazon had plowed was a glacial deposit that had been brought down from the Andean regions.⁵⁹ He elucidated his theory concerning the geological nature of the Amazon Valley to an audience at Pará; subsequently he presented his views to North American readers through the *Atlantic Monthly*; and in *A Journey in Brazil* he reprinted this contribution to the strange history of glacial phenomena.⁶⁰

It was reserved for one of Agassiz's assistants upon this trip to support his master's hypothesis concerning the glacial age in the Amazon Valley by a more detailed study of the geology of Brazil. At various points during the Agassiz expedition Hartt

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 392-94.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 244, n.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 398.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 255, 256.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 344, 347.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 316.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 382, 383, n.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

and St. John had been engaged in geological investigations. The former made a special study of "the stone and coral reefs and of the geology of Brazil."⁶¹ In the following year he returned to that country and spent several months examining the coast between Pernambuco and Rio de Janeiro. Hartt's original intention was to make a report to Agassiz which would incorporate the results of his own studies during the Thayer expedition, as well as those of his supplementary explorations.⁶² But in the course of his investigations Hartt's report grew into a volume which eventually included not only the results of his own researches but also the generalizations of some other students of Brazilian geology.

Hartt's book was appropriately entitled *Thayer Expedition: Scientific Results of a Journey in Brazil by Louis Agassiz and his Travelling Companions; Geology and Physical Geography of Brazil*. In sharp contrast with Agassiz's volume Hartt's book contained few notes concerning the topography, climate, and vegetation of the country. That book was in reality a treatise upon the geology of Brazil, which was considered province by province. It also contained a chapter upon the "São Francisco Basin," one upon the "Islands and Coral Reefs of the Abrolhos," another upon the "Gold-Mines of Brazil," and an appendix dealing with the Botocudo Indians. In part the fruit of the Agassiz expedition, it was a valuable contribution to the geology and physical geography of Brazil.

In 1871 Hartt organized another expedition to Brazil in which he gathered more geological data. After the death of his master in 1873, Hartt submitted to the Imperial government a plan for a geological survey of Brazil. That scheme was approved by Emperor Pedro II, and, with a number of assistants, among whom was J. Branner, Hartt soon began work on the survey. Unfortunately in 1878 Hartt died of yellow fever.⁶³ The work thus initiated, however, was continued at intervals by Branner, who, besides a work on the geology of Brazil, has made some noteworthy monographic contributions concerning the geology of that country.

⁶¹ Hartt, *Thayer Expedition*, p. v.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. vi, vii.

⁶³ Marcou, *Life, Letters, and Works of Louis Agassiz*, vol. II, pp. 159, 160.

The service performed by Hartt and Branner in Brazil finds a parallel in Argentina. After her title to Patagonia was settled by arbitration, Argentina undertook to develop that region. About 1906, under the direction of the secretary of public works, Ezequiel Ramos-Mexía, the Argentine Government adopted the policy of constructing railroads in Patagonia in order to encourage settlement. That the work of railroad construction might be properly performed, it was highly necessary to make surveys of certain sections of Patagonia. Ramos-Mexía evidently viewed North America as an exemplar; for he believed that northern Patagonia was in some respects similar to the western part of the United States. Early in 1911 there was accordingly established in the Argentine department of public works a bureau of hydrographic study. This bureau was established in the belief that artesian water might be discovered in northern Patagonia by scientific surveys. As Ramos-Mexía had become aware that a similar situation in the United States had been remedied by geological investigations, he decided to secure in that country geologists to make a survey of Patagonia.⁶⁴

With the approval of the United States Government, Bailey Willis, a member of the United States Geological Survey, was made director of the projected survey. In 1911 Willis accordingly organized the Argentine bureau of hydrographic study. He invited from the United States a group of topographers, geologists, and economic geologists, who, in conjunction with other investigators, undertook to survey northern Patagonia. A contract which went into force on January 21, 1911, originally required that the survey should be completed in two years, but the period was later extended for almost another year. The scientists began their work by a study of the geological structure of a section of Patagonia near the railroad which was being built from San Antonio upon the Atlantic coast to Lake Nahuel Huapí in the Andes. Their investigations showed the necessity and feasibility of supplying San Antonio with water from a stream over one hundred kilometers distant. In Octo-

⁶⁴ Willis, *Northern Patagonia*, pp. v-vii.

ber, 1911, the geologists went to the western terminus of the projected railroad in order to make further investigations. After their labors had demonstrated that the proposed route was impracticable, the Argentine Government decided that the geological survey should be extended to the entire strip which was tributary to the railroad from the Atlantic Ocean to the Chilean boundary. The government further decided that the survey should include a study of the natural resources of this region. The geologists employed the summer of 1913 in a survey of the Andean regions of Argentina between 39° 40' and 43° 40'. During the following winter they surveyed the pampas of the Río Negro.⁶⁵

The result of those investigations was a volume entitled *Northern Patagonia*. That volume contained some suggestive comparisons between Argentina and the United States. In his introduction Willis declared that although Argentina stretched from the tropics to the Antarctic Circle, yet she had a narrower range of temperature than the United States. He published maps which showed the curves of temperature and rainfall in Argentina and delimited the areas of ample and scanty rainfall. He declared that the "orange-grower," the "cotton-grower," the "corn-planter," the "wheat-farmer," the "sugar-grower," the "orchardist," the cattleman, the "sheep-herder," and the "web-footed Oregonian" from the United States could all find congenial places for settlement in Argentina. He expressed his opinion that the physical resources of that country indicated that her future was mainly dependent upon the development of agriculture, grazing, and commerce. With an argument which was based upon the experience of the United States, Willis made a plea for the conservation of the natural resources of Argentina, especially of the water power upon which the development of her manufactures depended.⁶⁶

Willis described the chief topographic features of the pampas of northern Patagonia, sketched the progress of railroads through that region, and suggested where branch lines might advantageously be constructed. Various sections of that

⁶⁵ Willis, *Northern Patagonia*, pp. vii-x.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-13.

region, such as the coastal plain, he considered in detail. He discussed the water resources, soils, and flora of the Patagonian pampas and their adaptability for agriculture and grazing.

The author used a large part of the volume in a detailed description of the topography and natural resources of Patagonia with considerable attention to the agricultural lands, the grazing lands, the timber belts, and the water resources of the cordillera. He devoted a section of his book to a description of the national park of Argentina which included Lake Nahuel Huapí. In appendices he included reports upon samples of wood from the Andean region of northern Patagonia as well as meteorological data concerning that section. Accompanying the volume was a useful set of maps which showed the topography of northern Patagonia. Here and there Willis pointed the way to further investigations that might be made concerning the resources of Argentina and her suitability as an abode for white men. All in all, this handsome volume constituted a most valuable contribution upon the geology and physical geography of Hispanic America.

Agassiz's journey stimulated scientific investigation in South America in another field than geology. The publication in 1885 of Mrs. Agassiz's *Life and Letters of Louis Agassiz* containing an account of his trip to Brazil, and the statement by David S. Jordan that no complete description of Agassiz's collection of fish had ever been made, induced Carl H. Eigenmann to undertake an examination of that fauna. As a result of his examination Eigenmann concluded that Agassiz had overestimated the number of species of fish which he had collected.⁶⁷ Presumably it was an interest in the fishes of Hispanic America that was thus developed which induced Eigenmann to study other collections brought from that region and led him to make fish collecting expeditions to various countries of South America on behalf of the Carnegie Museum. Through his own collections and by his commentaries thereon he made large additions to scientific knowledge concerning American ichthiology. His

⁶⁷ Eigenmann, "The Fresh-Water Fishes of South and Middle America," in *Popular Science Monthly*, vol. LXVIII, pp. 515-17.

study of the distribution of the fresh water fishes of tropical America led him to accept the view that during the earliest tertiary period tropical America was composed of two land areas which were separated by the lower Amazon Valley and that at that period there was a land bridge between South America and the eastern continent, possibly between Guiana and tropical Africa.⁶⁸

Further, Eigenmann directed the attention of some of his zoological students to Hispanic America. Among those students John D. Haseman was adventurous and noteworthy. In 1907 Haseman was sent to central South America by the Carnegie Museum in order to collect fishes. While upon that mission he traveled through Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Paraguay, and Bolivia. The period from November, 1907, to March, 1908, he spent in Brazil near the São Francisco River. In March, 1908, he was on the Atlantic coast north of Bahia. From the middle of April to the beginning of November of that year he was at work in the waters about Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Thence he went to the river Ribeira da Iguape. Next he visited the Iguassú River and admired its remarkable falls. Then by way of the Brazilian province of Rio Grande do Sol he proceeded to Montevideo. Between February 18 and March 15, 1909, he was working in the rivers San Juan and Colorado. He then went to the basin of the Paraguay River, proceeded through the Brazilian wilderness to São Luis de Caceres, thence to Manáos; and in January, 1910, he ended his collecting trip at Pará.⁶⁹ For a foreigner, who was accompanied only by native guides, this was a most wonderful itinerary, which surpassed any large expedition that had been made through South America in the number of miles traversed.⁷⁰

In the course of his remarkable journey Haseman collected thousands of specimens of fish in which were represented

⁶⁸ Eigenmann, *loc. cit.*, vol. LXVIII, p. 528.

⁶⁹ Haseman, "A Brief Report upon the Expedition of the Carnegie Museum to Central South America," in *Annals of the Carnegie Museum*, vol. vii, pp. 287-92. A map showing his itinerary is found in Haseman, "Some Factors of Geographical Distribution in South America," in *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, vol. xxii, p. 10.

⁷⁰ Holland, "The Carnegie Museum Expedition to Central South America, 1907-1910," in *Annals of the Carnegie Museum*, vol. vii, p. 285.

several species that had been unknown to scientists.⁷¹ Although the main object of his trip was to investigate the distribution of fish in South America, yet he collected information on some related problems. Data gathered over a much larger area than that of any previous explorer imparted a more than ordinary significance to his suggestive generalizations concerning the distribution of life upon that continent. In a monograph concerning "Some Factors of Geographical Distribution in South America" he printed a series of maps which showed in outline the geological areas and the marine deposits of that continent so far as those could be made from data which he had at hand. He also printed a map indicating that, contrary to the prevailing view, there was no connection between the headwaters of the river Guaporé and the Paraguay River, and another map showing that there actually was a connection between the headwaters of the rivers São Francisco and Tocantins. He delimited a number of areas in South America where he considered that the environmental conditions were approximately equal throughout.⁷² Upon more than one page of his monographs Haseman suggested the opportunities which awaited the biologist in a continent one-half of which was still practically unknown. One of his most suggestive passages runs thus: "In the great Guaporé Valley there is scarcely a break in the gigantic forests, which are choked by vines, smothered by epiphytes, and filled in between by bamboos and scrubby plants. In the midst of this floral confusion roams the whistling tapir, howling, babbling, and squealing monkeys from the size of a mouse to that of a dog. Countless gorgeously colored birds and butterflies flit around, huge alligators bellow in the lagoons, and the fish never stop leaping after foolish insects."⁷³

As a result of his travels and investigations in Hispanic-American countries Haseman was led to doubt the soundness of

⁷¹ Haseman, "An Annotated Catalogue of the Cichlid Fishes collected by the Expedition of the Carnegie Museum to Central South America, 1907-1910," in *Annals of the Carnegie Museum*, vol. VII, p. 329.

⁷² Haseman, "Some Factors of Geographical Distribution in South America," *loc. cit.*, vol. XXII, *passim*.

⁷³ Haseman, "A Brief Report upon the Expedition of the Carnegie Museum to Central South America," *loc. cit.*, vol. VII, pp. 298, 299.

a theory entertained by some scientists to the effect that South America was formerly connected by a land bridge with some portion of the eastern continent. Basing his view upon negative and positive evidence derived from the natural sciences, he rejected that theory and expressed the opinion that the distribution of animal life in South America pointed "to a northern origin and not to an African-South American Gondwana origin."⁷⁴ In regard to the origin of life upon this planet Haseman formulated the hypothesis" that continental forms have originated and dispersed over three great tongues of land which—"connected and disconnected from time to time"—have "always extended south from the northern hemisphere."⁷⁵

Just before Theodore Roosevelt made his trip to Africa, he evidently considered the project of an expedition into Brazil. In 1913, when the ex-President had received invitations to address learned societies in Argentina and Brazil, the project was revived, for Roosevelt accepted those invitations and planned to make a trip through the Amazon Valley. He wrote to Frank Chapman, curator of ornithology in the American Museum of Natural History at New York City, about his trip, surmising that Chapman might wish to send some naturalists into the Brazilian wilderness in order to collect specimens for the museum. As a large part of the region which Roosevelt proposed to explore had not been visited by collectors, Chapman became deeply interested in the proposed expedition; and the museum decided to send two experienced naturalists in Roosevelt's company. The naturalists selected by Chapman were George K. Cherrie and Leo E. Miller. Cherrie, a veteran field naturalist who had spent over twenty years in the American tropics, was to make ornithological collections, while Miller, a younger naturalist, was to make a collection of mammalia. In addition, there accompanied Roosevelt on the trip, his son Kermit, his secretary, Frank Harper, Father Zahm, an adventurous priest, with his attendant Jacob Sigg, and Antony Fiala, a former Arctic explorer, who was given charge of the equipment. Before leaving

⁷⁴ Haseman, "Some Factors of Geographical Distribution in South America," *loc. cit.*, vol. XXII, p. 103.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

New York Roosevelt's party secured a supply of firearms, canvas canoes, ropes, pulleys, tents, mosquito bars, and hammocks. Each person fitted himself out in clothing according to his taste. Although the explorers proposed to live upon the fish and game which they might secure during the trip, yet they took with them some army rations and a supply of canned provisions.⁷⁶ As the expedition had been undertaken primarily in the interests of the museum in the city of New York the baggage and the scientific apparatus of the party were labeled "Colonel Roosevelt's South American Expedition for the American Museum of Natural History."⁷⁷

The intention of Roosevelt was to go up la Plata River to the head of navigation upon the river Paraguay, then to cross to the source of a tributary of the Amazon, and, if feasible, to descend that tributary in canoes to the Great River.⁷⁸ Apparently his original intention was to proceed from the mouth of the Río Negro in a northerly direction to Venezuela.⁷⁹ The starting point for this trip was to be Asunción, the capital of Paraguay. When Roosevelt reached Rio de Janeiro the Brazilian minister of foreign affairs, Lauro Müller, informed him that Colonel Rondon, who had been engaged for many years in the exploration of the Amazon Valley on behalf of the Brazilian Telegraphic Commission, had been selected to accompany him on the expedition. Through the sympathetic interest of the Government of Brazil Roosevelt thus secured the aid of the most capable and experienced explorer of the Brazilian hinterland.

Upon receipt of the news that he had been selected to accompany Brazil's distinguished guest, Colonel Rondon, who was at Barão de Melgaço, in the depths of the Amazon Valley, at once took steps to facilitate the progress of Roosevelt's party whatever route it might choose to follow from Asunción to the Amazon. During his voyage from Barão de Melgaço to Manáos, Rondon received information that Roosevelt's plan was to enter the Amazon basin by way of the rivers Arinos and

⁷⁶ Roosevelt, *Through the Brazilian Wilderness*, pp. 1-6, 182.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 8.

⁷⁹ Rondon, *Conferencias realizadas pelo coronel Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon*, p. 16.

Tapajos. The Brazilian believed that to follow such an itinerary would result in comparatively small additions to the geographical knowledge which had been secured by his explorations. He accordingly proposed five possible itineraries for Roosevelt's party. Here we need only concern ourselves with the second of those proposed itineraries. That itinerary indicated a route from São Luis de Caceres or Cuyabá to the station of José Bonifacio, along a road which had been laid out by the Brazilian Telegraphic Commission. From that station Rondon proposed to descend and explore the Rio da Duvida, or River of Doubt, a course which he believed would probably lead the party into the Madeira River.⁸⁰ In the words of Colonel Rondon, "Of those five proposals, that which involved the greatest difficulties and which was the most hazardous was the proposal regarding the River of Doubt:—this was the itinerary selected by Mr. Roosevelt."⁸¹

Colonel Rondon proceeded from Manáos to Rio de Janeiro where he selected the members of the Brazilian contingent of the expedition. He chose certain persons who might be entrusted with administrative duties as well as with the advancement of scientific knowledge and ordered them to proceed to Corumbá. As his own companions upon the expedition he selected Captain Amilcar de Magalhães and Dr. Euzebio de Oliveira, who respectively acted as the assistant director and the geologist of the expedition. Rondon busied himself with the equipment of the expedition until he learned of the approaching departure of Roosevelt from Buenos Aires for Asunción. On December 2, 1913, the Brazilian explorer left Rio de Janeiro en route for Corumbá. Nine days later he was on board the Brazilian vessel *Nioac* which was anchored in the river Paraguay near the the Paraguayan frontier. There he awaited the arrival of the North American contingent of the party which was ascending that river in a Paraguayan war vessel. During the forenoon of December 12 the gunboat *Riquelme* hove in sight and shortly before noon Colonel Rondon courteously welcomed ex-President Roosevelt and his followers on board the Brazilian gunboat.⁸²

⁸⁰ Rondon, pp. 15, 16.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 19; Roosevelt, p. 49.

On the *Nioac*, which bore the United States flag at her mast-head, the Roosevelt-Rondon party ascended the Paraguay River to the confluence of the river São Lourenço. Thence it went up the São Lourenço and the Cuyabá rivers to the *fazenda* or ranch of João da Costa Marques. After a pleasant sojourn there the party descended to the Paraguay River and continued the ascent of that river to São Luis de Caceres, which it reached on the afternoon of January 5. It soon proceeded up Rio Sepotuba or River of Tapirs. In a post of the Telegraphic Commission, the baggage, as well as the party, was divided. Skins, skulls, specimens, and all baggage that was not absolutely necessary, were sent down the Paraguay River, en route to New York City. The pack oxen with extra supplies were organized under Captain Amilcar de Magalhães. Rondon and other Brazilians, with Roosevelt and his company, formed a separate detachment that was accompanied by a mule train laden with provisions and equipment. On January 21 the joint party which, after the change in plans due to Roosevelt's acceptance of the proposal of the Brazilian Government to make the expedition in larger part geographical, had been designated by that government as the *Expedição Scientifica Roosevelt-Rondon*, started from Tapirapoan in search of the tributaries of the Rio da Duvida.⁸³

The expedition proceeded to the falls of Utariá upon the river Papagaio. From the hamlet of that name Zahm and Sigg, who was ill, returned to Corumbá, starting back in an automobile which belonged to the Telegraphic Commission. At Utariá the party was divided into three sections. Fiala of the United States contingent and the Brazilian lieutenant, Alcides Laurindo, were placed in charge of a squad which was directed to descend the Papagaio River from Utariá Falls to its confluence with the Juruena. Another squad led by Captain Amilcar de Magalhães, accompanied by Miller, was to explore the Gy-Paraná and then to proceed by the Madeira to Manáos.⁸⁴ The main body of the party composed of Roosevelt and his son

⁸³ Roosevelt, pp. 97-182.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 196-243; Rondon, pp. 45-50, 62; Miller, *In the Wilds of South America*, p. 240.

Kermit, Rondon, Cherrie and others, left Utariaty on February 3 en route for the headwaters of the Rio da Duvida.

The headwaters of that stream were located within a segment of the Brazilian *sertão* or wilderness. So little was known about its interior that Rondon declared, after exploring this section for many years, the most modern maps of it had so many errors and lacunæ that he could scarcely discover any resemblance between those maps and the actual topography of the region. While traversing this *sertão* on behalf of the Telegraphic Commission in July, 1909, an exploring party discovered a river which, because of the discussion that arose over its course, was denominated by Rondon the Rio da Duvida. When the results of the expedition of 1909 were depicted upon a chart the Brazilian explorers represented the River of Doubt as an affluent of the Rio Commemoraçao de Floriano, a tributary of the Gy-Paraná. But subsequent investigations by the Telegraphic Commission convinced Colonel Rondon that the River of Doubt could not be a branch of the Gy-Paraná. Rondon then formed the hypothesis that the River of Doubt might be the upper course of a confluent of the Madeira, the Aripuanã River, the lower course of which had been identified. The Aripuanã was known to have two branches: a branch bearing the same name which inclined toward the east; and another branch inclining toward the west which was called the Castanha. It was Rondon's hypothesis that the River of Doubt was either the upper Aripuanã River or the Castanha River. So certain was he of the correctness of his hypothesis that when Roosevelt chose to explore the River of Doubt, Rondon asked his government to send an auxiliary expedition to await the Roosevelt-Rondon party at the junction of the upper Aripuanã and the Castanha rivers. Nevertheless, to afford Roosevelt every opportunity for a notable trip, Rondon also made tentative plans for the exploration of the Ananaz River in case the party should discover that the River of Doubt was actually a tributary of the Gy-Paraná.⁸⁵

Early in the afternoon of February 27, 1914, twenty-two men

⁸⁵ Rondon, pp. 50-62.

embarked on the River of Doubt in seven dugout canoes. "We were quite uncertain," said Roosevelt, "whether after a week we should find ourselves in the Gy-Paraná, or after six weeks in the Madeira or after three months we knew not where."⁸⁶ They began to descend the River of Doubt from a rude bridge that had been built by the Telegraphic Commission. The sixteen boatmen—"lithe as panthers and brawny as bears"—were of all shades of color: in Roosevelt's canoe one paddler was a Brazilian Indian; the steersman was a negro born in Matto Grosso; and the bowman was of Portuguese descent. Colonel Roosevelt's canoe went first, while Kermit Roosevelt and Rondon followed to survey the river. From March 7 to March 9 the explorers were employed carrying their baggage and guiding their canoes past a series of rapids. A short distance below those rapids a paddler lost his life in a shifting whirlpool. After eighteen days of travel the party had lost three canoes; it had used over one third of its food, and had proceeded only one hundred and twenty-five kilometers. Some members of the expedition then proceeded to march down the banks of the river. On March 17 Rondon named a stream which entered the River of Doubt from the west the Rio Kermit. Upon the forenoon of the following day, in latitude $11^{\circ} 27' 20''$ and longitude $17^{\circ} 17' 2''$ west of Rio de Janeiro, being convinced that the Rio da Dúvida was a great unexplored stream, in accordance with the instructions of Lauro Müller, Rondon read an order of the day announcing that thenceforth the so-called River of Doubt would be designated the Rio Roosevelt. In a lecture which he delivered in Rio de Janeiro in 1915 Rondon said that this act of his government was performed in order to inscribe upon the map of Brazil a record of Roosevelt's voyage of geographical discovery and in order "to render homage to the United States of North America in the person of her ex-President."⁸⁷

It was not, however, until after many strenuous days and some perilous adventures, not until after Theodore Roosevelt had been sorely stricken with fever, and his life well-nigh de-

⁸⁶ Roosevelt, p. 243.

⁸⁷ Rondon, pp. 75, 76. See further, Roosevelt, pp. 278, 279.

spared of, that, on April 15, the famished and wornout party reached the huts of some rubber gatherers and became certain that they had explored the upper course of the western branch of the Aripuanã. On April 26 the explorers reached the Castanha River and saw the camp of the auxiliary expedition which was surmounted by the flags of Brazil and the United States. The great geographical result of the Roosevelt-Rondon expedition was the discovery of the course of a large unknown river which flowed through five degrees of latitude, the River of Doubt, whose lower course was identical with the River Castanha. This expedition demonstrated that the streams formerly known as the Rio da Dúvida, the Castanha, and the lower Aripuanã constituted one and the same river.

The Roosevelt-Rondon Scientific Expedition thus resulted in a geographical discovery that helped to round out the knowledge concerning the Brazilian hinterland which had been secured by the Telegraphic Commission. While the pluck and perseverance of Roosevelt and his compatriots compel admiration, yet it seems that such important results would scarcely have been possible without the cordial cooperation of the Brazilian Government and without the sage advice and guidance of that noble explorer, Colonel Rondon. Ex-President Roosevelt was a leading spirit of the expedition. Further, when he returned to the United States Roosevelt made the geographical discovery known to the world in the interesting volume concerning his trip through the Brazilian wilderness.

Roosevelt and his fellow-countrymen had not forgotten the original purpose of the expedition. Cherrie and Miller secured about eight hundred specimens of mammals and birds before the party had reached Corumbá. While going up the Paraguay River they caught some rare mammals, among them a coatis; and the ex-President hunted peccaries and jaguars. By the time that they reached Tapirapoan the naturalists had collected about a thousand birds and two hundred and fifty mammals. Upon the road to the headwaters of the Rio da Dúvida the naturalists of Roosevelt's squad made valuable additions to their collections of birds, among them a black and

blue and white jay. During a considerable part of the trip down the mysterious river Cherrie found little time for the collection of birds.⁸⁸ On his trip down the Gy-Paraná Miller made a valuable collection of birds and mammals, and studied the habits of the hoatzin, a reptilian bird.⁸⁹

Besides the Roosevelt party the American Museum of Natural History has sent other expeditions into Hispanic America to collect specimens and to study the distribution of species. Some of its most important expeditions have been sent there in search of birds. Among the collectors whose learned comments upon ornithology fill pages of the *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* no one is more worthy of mention than Frank M. Chapman. As early as 1892 he published in that bulletin certain notes upon birds and mammals that he had found in Cuba with some remarks concerning the origin of West Indian bird life.⁹⁰ A few years later he published some notes upon Mexican birds.⁹¹ More recently his interest, as well as that of the museum, became focused upon South America.

In December, 1910, the American Museum of Natural History began a zoological survey of South America. This museum desired to collect specimens of the birds and mammals of that continent with information concerning their life and environment. Its immediate object was to collect data that might enable scientists to map the faunal areas in South America, while its ultimate object was "the discovery of the geographic origin of South American life."⁹² The museum decided to begin its operations in Colombia. That country was selected because the museum had become interested in her avifauna; because of her position and proximity to the United States; and because of her diverse zones and variety of life. The plan of the survey

⁸⁸ Roosevelt, *passim*.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 334; Miller, p. 261.

⁹⁰ Chapman, "Notes on Birds and Mammals observed near Trinidad, Cuba, with remarks on the Origin of West Indian Bird-Life," in *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. iv, pp. 279, *et seq.*

⁹¹ Chapman, "Notes on Birds observed in Yucatan," in *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. viii, pp. 271 *et seq.*; Chapman, "Notes on Birds observed at Jalapa and Las Vigas, Vera Cruz, Mexico," *ibid.*, vol. viii, pp. 15 *et seq.*

⁹² Chapman, "Distribution of Bird-Life in Colombia," in *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. xxxvi, no. 3, p. 3.

was designed "to extend from sea-level to snow-line, and from the Pacific Ocean to the tributaries of the Amazon and Orinoco."⁹³ From December, 1910, to April, 1915, the museum had from one to six men in Colombia collecting specimens in certain areas and taking notes on the distribution of life. Eight distinct parties in charge of experienced naturalists traveled through Colombia: they sojourned here and there at different altitudes; sometimes proceeding along water courses in river boats or canoes; more frequently pursuing lonely forest trails on horseback or muleback; and occasionally traversing on foot the barren, wind-swept *páramos*. Upon those trips the naturalists collected about sixteen hundred mammals and sixteen thousand birds, which were carefully labeled according to locality and altitude.⁹⁴ Chapman gave a detailed account of this cooperative, scientific survey in the museum's bulletin.

The volume describing that survey was entitled *The Distribution of Bird-Life in Colombia*. That volume contained a brief description of the topography of Colombia; some notes, as well as a map, on the distribution of her forests; and certain data upon climatology.⁹⁵ The larger part of the substantial volume was occupied by a list of the species and subspecies of birds which had been found in Colombia. This list of birds was accompanied by comments upon their characteristics and environment. It was illustrated by diagrammatic representations of the distribution of certain birds in that country and beyond. Basing his generalizations upon data gathered by the museum, Chapman reached the conclusion that the fauna of Colombia was distributed in four zones: the tropical, the subtropical, the temperate, and the *páramo* zone.⁹⁶

Let us next consider the exploits of certain citizens of the United States who became interested in the archæology of Hispanic America. It was the comment of the eminent historian Prescott about the ruins of Peruvian aborigines that suggested to E. G. Squier the thought of investigating Inca civilization. In 1863 Squier was appointed commissioner of the

⁹³ Chapman, "Distribution of Bird-Life in Colombia," *loc. cit.*, vol. xxxvi, no. 3, p. 5.
⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 6. ⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 70-83. ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 187 *et seq.*

United States to settle certain claims between his country and Peru. After his duties as commissioner were performed, Squier proceeded to execute his long-cherished design of studying the ruins of the Peruvian aborigines. For more than a year and a half he traveled from one site of Indian civilization to another, equipped with compass, tapeline, pencil, and camera.⁹⁷ His explorations of the antiquities of Peru were begun in the territory between the cordillera and the ocean. In the coastal desert near Lima he visited Pachacamac—the sacred city of the Indians before the Spanish conquest—where he studied the ruins of an aboriginal temple, disinterred some Peruvian mummies from their burial vaults, and collected pottery and other relics of primitive culture.⁹⁸ He made sketches of the decorations on the walls of a ruined palace at Chimu.⁹⁹ After visiting some less known ruins in various coastal valleys, he crossed the Andes on muleback from Tacna to Tiahuanaco, “the Baalbec of the New World.” There he studied the temple, the fortress, the gateways, and the monoliths of that mysterious aboriginal city.¹⁰⁰

Then Squier made a trip to certain islands in Lake Titicaca where he visited the so-called sacred rock of Manco Capac, the palace of the Incas, and the temple of the sun.¹⁰¹ From Titicaca he proceeded to Cuzco by way of Viracocha where he investigated the ruins of the temple described by Garcilaso de la Vega.¹⁰² At the ancient capital of the Inca Empire he examined the cyclopean or pre-Inca walls, the Inca walls and fountains, the palace of the virgins of the sun, the remains of an Inca palace, and the famous temple of the sun. In particular was he interested in the acropolis of Cuzco, the fortress of Sacsahuaman, which was built upon a spur commanding the ancient capital,—a fortress that he characterized as “the most massive and enduring monument of aboriginal art on the American continent.”¹⁰³ He noticed the most remarkable feature of that ancient structure: the use of salients in three series of walls which were so constructed that the defenders might

⁹⁷ Squier, *Peru*, pp. 1-3. ⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-81.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 137, 153, 154.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 272-301.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 337-44, 367-70.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 406-9.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 425.

protect them by parallel fires. Squier drew a sketch of Sacsahuaman from "the seat of the Inca."¹⁰⁴ Then he visited the ancient fortifications and monuments at Ollantaytambo, as well as the fortress of Pisac.¹⁰⁵ After returning to the United States Squier wrote an interesting volume about his explorations which, illustrated with careful sketches and plans, still remains an important contribution to knowledge concerning the Peruvian aborigines.

Not until many years after Squier had published the results of his archæological investigations did another citizen of the United States study the aborigines of South America. During the last decade of the nineteenth century Adolf F. Bandelier began to study the ruins left by the aborigines of Peru. In an article in *Harper's Magazine* in 1905 Bandelier made a judicious estimate of the stage of culture which had been reached by the Incas before the arrival of the *conquistadores*.¹⁰⁶ Years later, under the auspices of the Hispanic Society of America, Bandelier undertook to explore the aboriginal ruins upon the islands of Titicaca and Koati in Lake Titicaca. The results of his investigations upon the sites of aboriginal villages of the pre-Columbian era were published in a sumptuous volume by the Hispanic Society. In that volume Bandelier discussed the unique character of those ruins and described many interesting articles of Inca manufacture which he found among them.¹⁰⁷ By careful investigations upon the coastal hills of Ecuador, Marshall H. Saville, another citizen of the United States, made known to archæologists the remains of what seemed to be an aboriginal culture distinct from that of the Incas.¹⁰⁸

In 1911 Yale University sent to Peru an expedition for archæological and geographical exploration. During that expedition, its director, Professor Hiram Bingham, engaged in a search for Vitcos, the last Inca capital. While searching for Vitcos he journeyed up the canyon of the Urubamba River where he heard rumors of aboriginal ruins at a place called

¹⁰⁴ Squier, pp. 464-77.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 493-532.

¹⁰⁶ Bandelier, "The Truth about Inca Civilization," in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. cx, pp. 632-40.

¹⁰⁷ Bandelier, *The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, see especially, pp. 188-240.

¹⁰⁸ Saville, *The Antiquities of Manabi, Ecuador*, final report.

Machu Picchu. At that point upon the summit of an almost inaccessible cliff, in the midst of a tropical forest, he came across the ruins of ancient walls and buildings. Under Bingham's direction the engineers connected with the expedition made a preliminary reconnaissance of those ruins.¹⁰⁹

Other members of the party made a trip on muleback north of Cuzco to the head of canoe navigation on the Urubamba River. Under the direction of Professor Bowman, a survey was then made of a section of the Urubamba Valley. A topographical map was drawn of the great canyon of the Urubamba River below Rosalina. The geographers also made a survey of the Andes of Peru along the seventy-third meridian—a short distance west of Machu Picchu—from Abancay to Camaná upon the Pacific coast.¹¹⁰ Bowman's account of this survey contained a suggestive and valuable commentary concerning the physiographic provinces of a more or less typical section of Peru. His assistants cooperated with the archæologists; for they tried to collect data concerning deserted aboriginal cities.¹¹¹

Bingham's report upon the ruins at Machu Picchu created so much interest in the United States that in the following year another expedition to Peru was organized under the auspices of Yale University and the National Geographic Society. That expedition, which was also under the direction of Professor Bingham, included a geologist, an osteologist, an archæological engineer, three topographers, a surgeon, and three assistants. The members of the expedition left New York in May and June, 1916.¹¹² Geographical work performed during this expedition by A. H. Bumstead consisted in a survey from Abancay across the Apurimac Valley to Lucma along a route that had been outlined by Bowman. A map was also made of the region around Vitcos, the last capital of the Incas, and of the Cuzco Valley and its environment.¹¹³ Professor Gregory made geological investigations of the Cuzco Valley and of the island of the

¹⁰⁹ Bingham, "In the Wonderland of Peru," in *National Geographic Magazine*, vol. xxiv, pp. 403-7.

¹¹⁰ Bowman, *The Andes of Southern Peru*, pp. 8-10, see map opposite p. 314.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10.

¹¹² Bingham, "In the Wonderland of Peru," *loc. cit.*, vol. xxiv, p. 387.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 504, 506-11.

Sun.¹¹⁴ The most important investigations carried on by this expedition were those made at Machu Picchu under the personal direction of Bingham.

The archæologists of the party proceeded to Machu Picchu along a new road which had been cut at much expense by the Peruvian Government at the bottom of Urubamba Canyon. A gang of Indians was employed to cut the trees and the brush that covered the cliff and to dig amid the ruins of aboriginal buildings. Some caves were excavated near Machu Picchu from which were obtained human bones, pottery, and fragments of bronze. Excavations at the mouths of small caves unearthed other bronze articles, such as pins, tweezers, or pendants. Four months of painstaking labor revealed on the high cliff above the Urubamba River the remarkable ruins of an Inca city of refuge. At the very top of the mountain called Machu Picchu there had been placed a signal station to warn the city of an enemy's approach. Inside the outer wall of the city was a series of terraces used for agricultural purposes after the fashion of Peruvian aborigines. A steep moat separated those terraces from the inner wall which was from fifteen to twenty feet high and composed of huge stones. Within that wall the houses were arranged in groups which had evidently been occupied by clans. In what was designated by the explorers the "sacred plaza" were found the remains of two of the best buildings: a building which they called the temple of the three windows; and a more imposing structure which they named the chief temple. The inaccessibility of the antique city, the care and style with which it had been built, as well as the traditions of the Indians, caused Bingham to conclude that he had discovered Tampu Tocco, the cradle of the Inca tribe.¹¹⁵

Long before his sojourn at Lake Titicaca, Adolf Bandelier had made notable contributions to knowledge concerning the pre-Columbian inhabitants of Mexico. As early as 1879 he had published a study of the social organization and government of the ancient Mexicans. That monograph was soon followed by studies upon topics in Mexican social organization in which

¹¹⁴ Bingham, "In the Wonderland of Peru," *loc. cit.*, vol. xxiv, pp. 500, 501.
¹¹⁵ *Ibid., passim.*

both archæologists and historians were interested. In 1890, under the auspices of the Archæological Institute of America, Bandelier published certain monographs upon the colonial history of Mexico, monographs which dealt with the southwestern portion of the United States. As those papers were based upon rare publications and archival material they were serious contributions to the history of a vast region which was of interest to the scholars of both Mexico and the United States.¹¹⁶ Like the studies written or edited by H. H. Bancroft and published in his monumental histories, the articles of Bandelier were introductory to the serious archæological and historical investigation of certain parts of Hispanic America. The labors of Bandelier and Bancroft in Mexican archæology have, in some respects, been supplemented by the expeditions of Carl Lumholtz.¹¹⁷

On October 3, 1839, John L. Stephens, who had been appointed by President Van Buren to serve upon a confidential mission to Central America, embarked in New York harbor on a vessel bound for Honduras. An only companion was his friend Mr. Catherwood, a traveler and artist who had diligently studied certain antiquities of the Old World. Although Stephens found upon his arrival in Honduras that the Federation of Central America was being dissolved and that that country was being torn by civil war, yet the protection afforded by his diplomatic character enabled him to travel extensively. He estimated that to carry out his design of visiting aboriginal ruins he made a journey of almost three thousand miles in the interior of Central America and Mexico.¹¹⁸

The first ruined city which Stephens visited was Copán in Honduras. Soon after he stepped within the walls of a pyramidal structure enclosing that pre-Columbian city Stephens stumbled across a column which bore the sculptured representation of a human figure. The sides of that column were covered by undecipherable hieroglyphics which had originally been

¹¹⁶ Bandelier, *Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States*, Archæological Institute of America, *Papers*, vol. v.

¹¹⁷ Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, vol. I, pp. vii-xix.

¹¹⁸ Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*, vol. I, pp. iii, 9, 10.

painted various colors. After discovering fourteen other monuments of the same type Stephens was convinced that those mysterious monoliths had never been erected by savages. With the aid of natives he surveyed the site of Copán. He made a plan of it, while with great pains Catherwood drew pictures of the monoliths and of various fragments of aboriginal art that were scattered throughout the ruins. As a result of their investigations the explorers reached the conclusion that perhaps Copán had been a holy city of the aborigines. Stephens was convinced that its history was carved upon its monuments; and he expressed the opinion that in workmanship those monuments were as good as the best remains of Egyptian art.¹¹⁹

In an interlude, while Stephens was trying to locate the fugitive federal government or dodging the bullets of revolutionists, Catherwood visited Quirigua on the Motagua River. There the artist of the expedition found ruins which resembled those at Copán. The monuments, or obelisks, were much larger, but they were carved in less relief, and were apparently much older. After a vain attempt to purchase those ruins, Stephens proceeded with Catherwood to Tecpan in Guatemala where they visited the remains of another aboriginal city. Then they examined the ruins of the ancient city of Santa Cruz del Quiché, which they believed to have been built by a different people than that which had constructed Copán and Quirigua.¹²⁰

The most important site of Indian civilization visited by those adventurous travelers was at Palenque on the banks of the Otula River in Mexico. There the explorers took up their abode in the front corridor of a ruined building, where, by the light of beetles, they read a newspaper from the United States.¹²¹ Palenque was quite different from the other cities which they had visited. There the central feature was an ancient palace that stood upon an artificial oblong mound. The palace of Palenque was constructed of stone which had been partly covered with stucco. Around the palace were pillars ornamented

¹¹⁹ Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*, vol. I, pp. 102-4, 155, 159, 160. For later investigations in the same field, see Carnegie Institution of Washington, *Year Book*, 1915 and subsequent years.

¹²⁰ Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*, vol. II, pp. 121-23, 152-54, 182-86. ¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 291, 302.

by strange figures in bas-relief and by hieroglyphics. Along one side of the courtyard of the palace were stone figures of heroic size. Upon the walls of several apartments in this wonderful palace were bas-reliefs in stucco and in stone which apparently represented personages in aboriginal history. Near the palace there were several other structures which contained tablets covered with unintelligible hieroglyphics that resembled those found at Copán and Quirigua. Within a ruined chamber Stephens discovered a decorated tablet nine feet wide and eight feet high, "the most perfect and most interesting monument in Palenque."¹²² In the center of this tablet were depicted two personages perched upon the backs of human beings that seemed to be making sacrifices to a hideous figure. Upon each side of this sacrificial scene were rows of hieroglyphic inscriptions.¹²³ With regard to the aboriginal city which at one time surrounded the palace, temples, and other public buildings at Palenque, Stephens merely expressed the opinion that it might have covered an immense area.¹²⁴

After bidding farewell to Palenque, Stephens and Catherwood paid a visit to the ruins of Uxmal in Yucatan. Upon sight of the "mounds of ruins, and vast buildings on terraces, and pyramidal structures, grand and in good preservation, richly ornamented,"¹²⁵ Stephens felt that in picturesqueness they were almost equal to the ruins of Thebes. His impression was that Uxmal had at one time been the site of "a large, populous and highly civilized city."¹²⁶ In a chamber of the most important structure at Uxmal Stephens found a wooden beam that was carved or stamped with hieroglyphics which seemed to resemble those at Copán and Palenque.¹²⁷ At Uxmal Catherwood also made plans and drawings of the chief buildings. After his return to the United States, Stephens composed an account of his journey of exploration in Central America and Mexico which was published in two volumes and illustrated by Catherwood's drawings and plans. In those volumes Stephens propounded an hypothesis regarding the origin of the mysterious

¹²² Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*, vol. II, p. 351.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 351, 352.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 355, 356.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 413.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 413.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 432, 433.

ruins. He took the sensible view that the cities of Central America had not been built by "any ancient nation of the Old World"; that they had not been built by a strange, unknown people which had vanished; but that there were "strong reasons to believe them the creations of the same races who inhabited the country at the time of the Spanish conquest, or some not very distant progenitors."¹²⁸

In the preface to the tenth edition of his work Stephens stated his intention to make a more complete exploration of the Yucatanese ruins. With his artistic friend he subsequently visited the sites of forty-four ruined cities in Yucatan. As a result of that trip he published two volumes entitled *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan* which described his visit to Uxmal and other ancient settlements. One of the most interesting cities visited was Chichen-Itza where the explorers saw upon the walls of a room vivid, colored paintings that resembled Mexican picture writings.¹²⁹ The work of archaeological investigations in Central America to which Stephens made interesting contributions has recently enlisted the interest of trained archaeologists.

A unique service to Hispanic America was performed by another citizen of the United States. In October, 1907, W. B. Perkins and W. E. Hardenburg, two engineers who had resigned their positions on the Cauca railroad in southwestern Colombia, left Buenaventura on a trip across South America. After crossing several mountain ranges they reached the eastern slopes of the Andes and beheld the waters of the Putumayo River which flowed to the Amazon through rich, tropical plains that were claimed by both Colombia and Peru.¹³⁰ Early on December 1, they launched a canoe upon the strong, swift current of the upper Putumayo.¹³¹ Day after day they guided their canoe along the winding course of that stream; and, soon after reaching its central channel, they heard strange rumors about a corporation known as the Peruvian Amazon Company. That company had been formed in London in October, 1907, with a capital of one mil-

¹²⁸ Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*, vol. II, p. 455.

¹²⁹ Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan*, vol. II, pp. 310, 311.

¹³⁰ Hardenburg, *The Putumayo, the Devil's Paradise*, pp. 54, 55, 87.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

lion pounds as the result of the visit to England of a Peruvian named Arana who had for some time been employed in exploiting the Putumayo rubber country. Peru permitted its operation partly because she hoped thereby to strengthen her title to the Putumayo region. The American office of the Peruvian Amazon Company was at Iquitos, Peru. Its chief rubber collecting centers were at El Encanto and La Chorrera within the territory of the sturdy, docile Huitoto Indians.¹³²

While traveling on foot through a forest in the rubber country Hardenburg was told by a Huitoto guide that the Peruvians treated his tribe "very badly." As an explanation of his meaning the guide said that when the Indians did not collect enough rubber to satisfy the company they were scourged, mutilated, or killed, at the pleasure of its agents.¹³³ Hardenburg heard this story with incredulity but gradually became convinced that more than one half of a most gruesome tale had never been told. In fact he was himself seized by Peruvians in the service of the "civilizing company," maltreated, and forcibly detained. He declared that had he not pretended to be the agent of an influential syndicate in the United States he might have been put to death.¹³⁴ His life being spared, he had opportunities to witness certain features of the system used by the company in the collection of rubber.

This system somewhat resembled that which had been employed by Belgian companies in the Congo region. The Peruvian Amazon Company's activities were based upon the use of the Huitoto Indians as collectors of rubber in the Putumayo forests. Hardenburg's account, which was amply corroborated by the statements of Peruvians in Iquitos, showed that those Indians were forced to collect rubber by the company's agents: that in return they were given scarcely enough food for mere subsistence; that they were so scantily clad that some of them did not even possess the traditional fig leaf; that they were "robbed of their crops, their women, and their children" by the voracious company and its lascivious employees; that they were transported to Iquitos and sold as slaves; that they were flogged

¹³² *Ibid.*, pp. 182, 199-201.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 145, 146.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 172-78.

unmercifully until they were covered with raw sores and then left to be the prey of dogs and maggots; that they were castrated, mutilated, and tortured in a horrible manner; and that children and old people were ruthlessly put to death. The thirteenth count in Hardenburg's indictment reads thus: "Men, women, and children are shot to provide amusements for the employees or to celebrate the *sábado de gloria*, or, in preference to this, they are burned with kerosene so that the employees may enjoy their desperate agony. . . . The region monopolized by this company is a living hell—a place where unbridled cruelty and its twin-brother, lust, run riot, with consequences too horrible to put down in writing."¹³⁵

Although Hardenburg was not the only person to notice the horrible conditions prevailing in the Putumayo region, yet his observations were significant because they impelled him to start a propaganda against the enslavement of the Indians. Upon reaching Iquitos he informed the United States consul there of the Putumayo atrocities. So hideous were the crimes which had been committed in the name of an English company, that when he reached London the adventurous engineer found that his reports were received by the English public with incredulity. But the anti-slavery and aborigines protection society was convinced that they were true. Despite the denials of the Amazon Company and the Peruvian Government, the editor of *Truth* endorsed Hardenburg's denunciations of "the Devil's Paradise."¹³⁶ The ensuing agitation caused the English Government to appoint Roger Casement, who had investigated the Congo atrocities, as consul in the Putumayo region with instructions to report upon the activities of the Peruvian Amazon Company. Casement started for Peru in July, 1910. In January following, he sent to London a preliminary report upon the Putumayo atrocities. In this report Casement expressed the opinion that the worst charges against the company were verified.¹³⁷

Hence the English Government instructed the British consul

¹³⁵ Hardenburg, pp. 185, 186.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-32.

¹³⁷ *Correspondence respecting the treatment of British colonial subjects and native Indians employed in the collection of rubber in the Putumayo District*, pp. 1, 2.

at Lima to inform the Peruvian Government of the conclusions reached by Casement, while the English minister at Washington was soon instructed to inform the United States Government of the tenor of Casement's reports. In July, 1911, the English Government secured the diplomatic support of the United States minister at Lima.¹³⁸ As the Peruvian Government did not take proper steps to protect the abused Indians, in July, 1912, the English Government transmitted Casement's reports to Parliament. In his last report dated February, 1912, Casement expressed the hope that all persons who were interested in the rubber industry, whether in Europe, the United States, or Brazil would aid the best Peruvians to establish "a rule of right dealing and legality" among the terrorized aborigines of the Putumayo.¹³⁹ One result of significance was at once achieved. On April 22, 1912, the president of Peru appointed a commission of eminent Peruvians who should formulate a plan of administrative, political, and judicial reform for the Putumayo and similar regions.¹⁴⁰ That reform movement is of further interest to citizens of the United States because it is now clear that as early as December 3, 1907, Charles C. Eberhardt, United States consul at Iquitos, transmitted a confidential letter to the secretary of state describing conditions in the Putumayo district and comparing the system of native slavery there employed to that used in the Congo rubber districts.¹⁴¹

Physicians of the United States have been largely responsible for a noteworthy advance in the prevention of a disease that has greatly afflicted Spanish America. In 1897 medical science knew scarcely more with regard to the sanitation of yellow fever than it had known a century earlier. Soldiers sent from the United States to Cuba during the war with Spain suffered from yellow fever just as other armies had suffered in the tropics. At the end of two months' campaign four-fifths of the men had the fever, while many of the soldiers had lost their stamina, and were anxious to go home.¹⁴²

In the end of 1898 the United States military authorities at

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 143-47.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 163, 164.

¹⁴¹ *Slavery in Peru*, pp. 113-15.

¹⁴² Gorgas, *Sanitation in Panamá*, pp. 4, 5.

Habana, assuming that yellow fever was a filth disease, decided to clean that city in the belief that if yellow fever ceased to be endemic in Habana, the United States would no longer be scourged by the dread malady. But although Habana had been thoroughly cleansed under the direction of army officers, yet in 1900 the cleanest portions of that city were suffering from fever most severely. Consequently the physicians in Cuba decided to devote more time to a search for the agency which produced yellow fever. When General Sternberg, surgeon general of the United States army, was authorized by the secretary of war to appoint a board of army officers to investigate that disease he placed upon the board Drs. Reed, Lazear, Carroll, and Agramonte. That board proceeded to Habana and, after months of unsatisfactory study, turned its attention to the theory of Dr. Carlos Finlay of that city who, as early as 1881, had convinced himself that yellow fever was transmitted by the stegomyia mosquito. From Finlay the board secured stegomyia ova in order to raise mosquitos for experimental purposes.¹⁴³

The Reed Board, through funds assured by the support of Governor General Leonard Wood, conducted experiments with stegomyia mosquitos and yellow fever. This board started an experimental camp at a military station outside of Habana. As the result of a series of experiments, during which Dr. Lazear died, the board demonstrated to its own satisfaction that the stegomyia mosquito transmitted the disease. The board also proved that for a mosquito to become infected with the fever, it must sting a patient during the first three days of his illness. After experimenting upon nonimmune Spaniards, Dr. Reed found that a female stegomyia mosquito could not herself transmit the disease until from ten to fifteen days after she had bitten a fever patient. Through experiments in which he used the soiled clothing of persons who had died from the dread malady Reed proved that personal contact with such material would not transmit the disease. The board injected the blood from a yellow-fever patient during the first three days of his illness into the arm of a non-immune person, and thereby proved that the

¹⁴³ Gorgas, pp. 10-16.

disease could be transmitted without the intervention of a mosquito. Other experiments indicated that the disease was conveyed by a submicroscopic parasite, which could not survive in a temperature of 55 centigrade.¹⁴⁴

In the words of Colonel Gorgas, those "discoveries have been of enormous benefit to mankind, and upon them has been based the sanitary work against yellow fever which has been so successful."¹⁴⁵ When those discoveries were made Gorgas was health officer of Habana, where sanitary officials had been engaged for two years in a vain endeavor to eradicate yellow fever. In February, 1901, Gorgas attempted to apply the knowledge which had been gained by the Reed Board to the eradication of yellow fever from Habana. First he tried to confer immunity from the fever by vaccination through the use of infected mosquitos. This experiment in which one patient died convinced Gorgas that vaccination was not of much avail as a preventative measure. Since a human host and an insect host were necessary for the propagation of yellow fever Gorgas then attempted to extirpate the disease mainly by controlling the human host. He proceeded thoroughly to isolate yellow fever patients, either by removing them to a hospital in a screened ambulance and lodging them in screened wards, or by carefully screening the patient in his own residence. As it was evident that in some cases a mosquito might have bitten a man before he was placed in screened apartments, the house in which a patient had been ill was fumigated. To extend control over the insect host Gorgas divided the city into districts which were placed in charge of sanitary inspectors who were to warn the inhabitants against maintaining mosquito breeding receptacles on their premises. Kerosene oil was poured over pools and puddles in order that the mosquito larvae might be suffocated. To prevent or hinder the introduction of the yellow fever parasite from other ports a quarantine was established at Habana.

Those measures were highly successful. Almost the last case of yellow fever occurred in Habana in September, 1901. A most commendable achievement was this, when it is remembered

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 21, 35-38.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

that that city had been scourged by epidemics of yellow fever for two hundred years. Further, the sanitary measures which were designed to extirpate yellow fever had other beneficial effects upon the health of the city. In particular, the campaign against mosquitos checked malaria, because that disease was transmitted like yellow fever. According to statistics printed by Gorgas, before 1901 there had occurred in Habana from three hundred to five hundred deaths from malaria annually: after that year there was a steady decline in the death rate; and in 1912 there were only four deaths from malarial fever.¹⁴⁶

The great medical discovery made under the direction of Reed's Board and the example of sanitation set by Colonel Gorgas in Habana have exercised a widespread influence. Early in 1902 Gorgas called Surgeon General Sternberg's attention to the fact that the experience gained at Habana might afford valuable lessons at Panamá where the Canal Company had annually lost by yellow fever one third of its white employees. In March, 1914, Gorgas was ordered to accompany the Isthmian Canal Commission to Panamá as sanitary adviser. Three months later, aided by a corps of able assistants, Gorgas undertook to kill the mosquitos in the city of Panamá by house-to-house fumigation. Nevertheless the fever scourge became worse; but, largely because of the support given by President Roosevelt and the chairman of the Isthmian Canal Commission, medical scientists were allowed to continue the work of sanitation; and in November, 1905, the last case of yellow fever originated on the Isthmus. Gorgas also started a vigorous campaign against malarial mosquitos in the Canal Zone and thus prevented them from infecting the workmen to any considerable extent. His sanitary labors upon the Isthmus of Panamá convinced Gorgas that the most efficacious mode of eradicating the yellow fever mosquito was by the destruction of the stegomyia.¹⁴⁷ As a result of their experience at Habana and Panamá, Gorgas and his colleagues felt able to formulate sanitary measures for other communities in Hispanic America.

¹⁴⁶ Gorgas, *Sanitation in Panamá*, pp. 47-73.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 138-56. See further, Goethals, *The Panamá Canal*, vol. I, pp. 87-107.

To the Pan-American Scientific Congress which met at Santiago in 1908, as a delegate of the United States, Colonel Gorgas read a paper on the sanitation of the tropics. In that paper he described an organization for municipal sanitary work in the tropics against malaria and yellow fever. He hazarded the opinion that should such an organization immediately be sent to every district where yellow fever broke out that this scourge would disappear from the New World within two years.¹⁴⁸

The methods developed under physicians in the employment of the United States Government in Habana and Panamá have indeed been used in the campaign against yellow fever elsewhere. In 1906 Secretary of State Root offered to cooperate with the Government of Ecuador for the sanitation of the pestiferous seaport of Guayaquil, but in vain.¹⁴⁹ Nevertheless, profiting by the experience of Panamá, the Ecuadorian Government made an attempt to eradicate yellow fever from that port. A United States physician directed the fight against yellow fever and the bubonic plague.

The war upon disease in Hispanic America has attracted the attention of the Rockefeller Foundation. Its international health board has cooperated in the inauguration of a new department of hygiene in a medical college at São Paulo by furnishing the services of two scientists for five years. In cooperation with the respective Hispanic-American governments, the Rockefeller Foundation has furnished support to various agencies for the extermination of the hookworm in Central America and eastern Brazil.¹⁵⁰

In 1916 the Rockefeller Foundation dispatched to South America a yellow fever commission led by Colonel Gorgas. After a trip lasting six months the commission reported that the eastern coast of Brazil, as well as certain sections of Colombia and Venezuela demanded scientific observation; but that "the only endemic center for yellow fever in South America" was

¹⁴⁸ Gorgas, "Sanitation of the Tropics with Special reference to Malaria and Yellow Fever," in *Trabajos del cuarto congreso científico*, vol. III, tomo I, pp. 113-17.

¹⁴⁹ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1906, p. 627.

¹⁵⁰ Vincent, *The Rockefeller Foundation: Review for 1918*, pp. 21, 26, 27, 30.

Guayaquil, Ecuador.¹⁵¹ This commission planned the destruction of that fever at its sources. The international health board of the foundation appointed Gorgas to take charge of the fight against yellow fever in Hispanic America. That task was postponed, however, because of the World War. Nevertheless, in 1917 a member of the staff of the foundation's health board secured the cooperation of the Venezuelan Government in a campaign against yellow fever in northern Venezuela.¹⁵² Similarly in the last half of 1918 that board furnished the physician and the funds for a successful fight against a yellow fever epidemic in Guatemala.¹⁵³ In June, 1918, a preliminary commission of five men, with laboratory equipment, was sent to Guayaquil to investigate that seed bed of the scourge. Five months later General Gorgas, upon his retirement from the post of surgeon general of the United States Army, became director of the yellow fever work of the foundation. By December, 1918, squads of men, under the direction of the foundation's scientists, were systematically engaged in an attack upon the stegomyia mosquito at Guayaquil.¹⁵⁴

In sum, this chapter has shown that the United States and her citizens have increased and diffused knowledge concerning Hispanic America in various fields of human endeavor. Although they sometimes pursued routes that were already known, yet by their explorations Wilkes, Herndon, Gibbon, and Page made significant additions to geographical knowledge concerning the mysterious continent of South America. Agassiz, Eigenmann, Hartt, Haseman, Orton, and others have made notable investigations upon that continent in regard to the natural sciences. Under the auspices of certain South American governments, Branner, Hartt, and Willis have prosecuted important geological studies. The explorations of Bandelier, Bingham, Squier, and Stephens upon the sites of vanished civilizations produced important results for American archæology. Through such

¹⁵¹ *The Rockefeller Foundation: Annual Report, 1916*, p. 70.

¹⁵² Vincent, *The Rockefeller Foundation: A Review of its war work, public health activities, and medical education projects in the year 1917*, p. 31.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, *Review for 1918*, pp. 15, 16.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 17.

ardent naturalists as Chapman, Cherrie, and Miller, the American Museum of Natural History has gathered valuable data concerning the ornithology and mammalogy of certain portions of Hispanic America. An expedition of outstanding importance was the heroic exploit of Colonels Rondon and Roosevelt which was immortalized upon the map of South America,—the discovery of a Great River. With respect to medical science, the deeds of Colonel Gorgas and the activities of the Rockefeller Foundation are the harbingers of an age when yellow fever shall be forever eradicated from the New World.

CHAPTER X

PAN-AMERICANISM

Early Hispanic-American projects of confederation—Clay, Bolívar, and the Panamá Congress—Alberdi advocates an American congress—Spanish-American congresses—The “American Union” of Santiago de Chile—Stephen A. Douglas—Elijah Ward—James G. Blaine as a Pan Americanist—The First International American Conference—Succeeding International American Conferences—The Pan-American Union—The First Pan-American Financial Conference—The Pan-American Christian Congress—“Latin-American” Scientific Congresses—Pan-American Scientific Congresses—President Wilson’s Pan-American Monroe Doctrine—Its reception in Hispanic America—The World War and the Pan-American spirit.

Pan-Americanism may be defined as a tendency displayed by independent nations of America to associate together. The United States has furnished notable manifestations of that tendency in recent decades. Occasionally the nations of Spanish and Portuguese derivation have shown a tendency to form a group with the United States. At an early stage, however, in the life of the Hispanic-American states some of their leaders expressed a desire to foster better relations among those states.

Even before the movement which culminated in the independence of the Indies from the motherland began, Francisco de Miranda had formed a project of a constitution for a confederation to include the Spanish colonies in America from Cape Horn to the sources of the Mississippi River.¹ As early as April 27, 1810, a revolutionary *junta* at Caracas issued an address to the *cabildos* at the capitals of other Spanish-American provinces inciting them to join the revolutionary movement and to form a Spanish-American confederation.² In the following year, at the instance of the Chilean governmental *junta*, Juan Egaña framed a “Project of a Declaration of Rights of the People of

¹ Robertson, “Francisco de Miranda,” in *American Historical Association Report*, 1907, vol. I, pp. 272–74. See also *ibid.*, pp. 318–21, 417–20.

² Blanco, *Documentos*, vol. II, pp. 407–8.

Chile" which proposed an international American congress that would foster a confederation of the American nations.³ On September 6, 1815, while an exile in Jamaica, Simón Bolívar addressed a "prophetic" letter to a gentleman who had shown an interest in South American independence. Bolívar expressed the conviction that differences of climate, geography, and interests would make it impossible to establish in Spanish America one great republic. He proposed, however, that an international congress should be assembled on the Isthmus of Panamá: "God grant that some day we may have the fortune to install there an august congress of representatives of republics, kingdoms, and empires to treat and discuss important subjects of war and peace with the nations of the other three quarters of the world!"⁴

A step in the direction of Bolívar's ideal was the treaty of "perpetual union, league, and confederation" between Great Colombia and Peru which was signed at Lima on July 6, 1822, by Joaquín Mosquera and Bernardo Monteagudo.⁵ Upon the same day those two men signed a supplementary convention by which the contracting nations agreed to use their good offices with other states of Spanish America to induce them to join the league. This supplementary convention provided that, when this object had been accomplished, an assembly of delegates from the confederated states should be convoked. The contracting parties stipulated that their sovereignty or their policies should not be affected, yet they agreed to take no step which might prejudice their independence, and pledged themselves to sustain in all places and upon all occasions their reciprocal interests with the dignity and energy of free and independent nations that were friends, brothers, and confederates.⁶

About the same time similar suggestions were made by leaders in other sections of South America. Instructions drawn up on December 21, 1816, by Director Juan Martín de Pueyrredón,

³ Álvarez, *Rasgos generales de la historia diplomática de Chile*, pp. 249-55, n.

⁴ *Memorias del general O'Leary*, vol. XXIX, pp. 69-95; Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics*, p. 233.

⁵ Cadena, *Anales diplomáticos de Colombia*, pp. 297-302.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 302-7.

to guide General San Martín in his campaign against the royalists in Chile suggested that the latter should try to induce the Chilean patriots to send delegates to the congress at Buenos Aires in order that the Spanish-American peoples, united by identity of cause, interest, and object, might constitute one nation.⁷ After San Martín had retired from public life, Bernardo Monteagudo formulated some ideas concerning the necessity for a union of the new American nations. In a posthumous essay, which was evidently written shortly after the battle of Ayacucho, Monteagudo proposed that a congress of delegates from the Spanish-American states should assemble in order to form a confederation. His chief thought was that an armed league of those nations should be organized in order to protect them against the menace of the Holy Alliance.⁸ Early in 1824 the Brazilian Government entertained Pan American views, for it instructed Rebello to sound the Government of the United States about an offensive and defensive alliance with Brazil.⁹

The first apostle of Pan-Americanism in the United States was Henry Clay. When advocating the acknowledgement of the independence of the Spanish-American republics in the House of Representatives, Clay frequently alluded to the advantages which would flow from the adoption of a policy of recognition by the United States. In a notable speech on May 10, 1820, he declared:

It is in our power to create a system of which we shall be the center, and in which all South America will act with us. In respect to commerce, we should be most benefited; this country would become the place of deposit of the commerce of the world. . . . In relation to South America the United States will occupy the same position as the people of New England to the rest of the United States. . . . We should become the center of a system which would constitute the rallying point of human wisdom against all the despotism of the Old World.¹⁰

⁷ Mitre, *Historia de San Martín y de la emancipación sud-americana*, vol. I, p. 669.

⁸ Lastarria and Others, *Colección de ensayos i documentos relativos a la unión i confederación de los pueblos hispano-americanos*, vol. I, pp. 161-75.

⁹ Rio-Branco, "O Brasil, os Estados Unidos e o Monroeísmo," in *Revista americana*, vol. III, p. 476.

¹⁰ *Annals of Congress*, 16th Cong., 1st Sess. vol. II, pp. 2226, 2227.

The first attempt to hold an international American congress was promoted by Simón Bolívar. On December 7, 1824, Bolívar, who was the dictator of Peru as well as the titular president of Great Colombia, issued from Lima an invitation to the governments of Brazil, la Plata, Chile, Great Colombia, Central America, and Mexico to send delegates to a congress on the Isthmus of Panamá. In words which were apparently borrowed from the supplementary convention signed by Monteagudo and Mosquera on July 6, 1822, Bolívar proposed that the congress should serve those states as a council in emergencies, as an authorized interpreter of treaties, and as an umpire when disputes arose. He maintained that a common basis should be found for the protection of the independent Spanish-American republics, and proposed that this congress should establish a supreme authority to direct their policies.¹¹

Upon replying to that invitation Chile, Great Colombia, and Mexico praised the project of a league directed against Spain or against European intervention in America. The United Provinces of la Plata did not send delegates to the congress.¹² Brazil responded favorably, but stated that she would not send delegates until her independence from Portugal was acknowledged.¹³ In Bolívar's papers concerning this congress, a memorandum has been found which shows that at times he saw visions of a league of American nations sanctioned by Great Britain.¹⁴ But no evidence has been found to prove that Bolívar planned to invite the United States to send delegates to his amphicyonic council.

The proposal to invite the Government of the United States to send delegates to the Panamá Congress in reality emanated from Bogotá and the city of Mexico. In their responses to Bolívar's invitation in February, 1825, Vice-President Santander of Great Colombia, and Guadeloupe Victoria, president of Mexico, declared that they had instructed their ministers in Washington to invite the United States to send delegates to the

¹¹ *Memorias del general O'Leary*, vol. xxiv, pp. 250-53.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 267; Zubieta, *Congresos de Panamá y Tacubaya*, pp. 28-34.

¹³ *Memorias del general O'Leary*, vol. xxiv, p. 287.

¹⁴ Bolívar, *Un pensamiento sobre el congreso de Panamá*.

congress.¹⁵ "With regard to the United States," said Santander, "I have believed it convenient to invite her to the august assembly of Panamá in the firm conviction that our intimate allies will view with satisfaction the participation of so wise and sincere a friend in their deliberations upon matters of common interest."¹⁶ An invitation extended by the Colombian and Mexican ministers at Washington was accepted by the United States largely because of the favorable attitude of Secretary Clay.¹⁷

On December 26, 1825, President Adams sent a special message to Congress nominating as delegates to the Panamá Congress John Sergeant and Richard C. Anderson, minister at Bogotá. In that message the President declared that the United States had laid the foundations of her future intercourse with the Spanish-American nations "in the broadest principles of reciprocity and the most cordial feelings of fraternal friendship. To extend those principles to all our commercial relations with them and to hand down that friendship to future ages is congenial to the highest policy of the Union, as it will be to all of those nations and their posterity."¹⁸ The prospect, however, that certain problems connected with slavery might be discussed at Panamá and the objections to possible entanglements of an international character which might result from the participation of the United States in such a congress, delayed congressional approval of the mission.¹⁹ As subjects which our delegates might discuss, Clay's instructions to Anderson and Sergeant dated May 8, 1826, mentioned the preservation of peace in America, the abolition of war against private property and noncombatants upon the ocean, the adoption of the most favored nation principle in inter-American commercial treaties, and a declaration that every American state would oppose the establishment of a new European colony within her dominions.²⁰

But the protracted delay at Washington prevented the delegates of the United States from reaching Panamá in time for the

¹⁵ *Memorias del general O'Leary*, vol. xxiv, pp. 255, 257.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

¹⁷ *International American Conference*, vol. iv, pp. 23-30.

¹⁸ Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, vol. ii, p. 319.

¹⁹ *International American Conference*, vol. iv, pp. 53-82.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 113-50.

congress. In fact Anderson died on his way to the Isthmus; and, when Sergeant reached Panamá, the congress had adjourned. The formal meetings of the Panamá Congress, which was composed of delegates from Great Colombia, Peru, Central America, and Mexico, took place in June and July, 1826. That congress framed a treaty of perpetual union, league, and confederation as well as two other conventions concerning the contingents of ships, soldiers, and money that the states concerned should furnish to the projected confederation,²¹ engagements which were ratified only by Colombia. Nevertheless this congress was not without Pan-American significance. It was the first international conference which served to crystallize the ideas of publicists of the New World concerning the relations of independent states.²²

The Spanish-American publicist who, at a later time, most clearly voiced the Pan-American ideal was Juan Bautista Alberdi. That service he performed in a notable thesis concerning the convenience and objects of a general American congress. He read that thesis to the College of Law of the University of Chile, on November 12, 1844, in support of his candidacy for the degree of licentiate in law. In that essay Alberdi urged that the Panamá Congress had not produced any lasting results and discussed the topics which he thought should be considered by an American congress. He maintained that such a congress should consider the adjustment of boundaries between the new states—a problem which indeed involved the political recomposition of Hispanic America. New boundaries should be indicated not merely by customhouses and fortresses, but they should be marked by natural frontiers. The American congress, said Alberdi, should undertake to establish a “continental equilibrium” which would preserve a commercial and economic balance among the various nations. Alberdi further said that the proposed congress should deal with maritime law, a topic which should not only be concerned with the navigation of the oceans by American mariners but also with the navigation of

²¹ *International American Conference*, vol. iv, pp. 184–201.

²² Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics*, p. 324, 325.

South American rivers. He proposed that this congress should formulate an agreement concerning the preparatory steps required for entrance into industrial and scientific professions. Above all, he argued that the congress should seek to promote peace in America; and as one means to that end he suggested that the spirit of militarism should be checked. American independence did not depend upon bayonets; the ocean and the wilderness were its invincible guardians. To prevent war there should be established upon the American continent an international peace court whose judgments should have the moral sanction of its governments. With regard to Europe, Alberdi declared that the American governments should pursue a policy which was frank, patient, and modest. Although he often used the word "continental" in his essay yet he expressed the view that there should be represented at the proposed American congress only those states which had come into existence upon the disruption of the Spanish colonial empire.²³ The economic spirit of Alberdi's essay is suggested in the following quotation:

The new congress will be political only incidentally. Its distinctive character will be that of a commercial and maritime congress like that which assembled recently in Vienna upon the occasion of the centralization of customs by Germany. The evil which this great curative *junta* is called upon to consider is not the evil of foreign oppression but the evil of poverty, depopulation, backwardness, and misery. Sheltered within herself are the real enemies of Spanish America. They are her deserts without trails; her enslaved and unexplored rivers; her coasts which are unpopulated because of niggardly restrictions and the anarchy of tariffs and customhouses; and the absence of credit, that is to say of artificial and speculative riches which may be used to produce real and positive wealth,—these are the great enemies of America which the new congress should concert means to combat and to persecute until they are destroyed.²⁴

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century prominent publicists in western and northern Hispanic America were actually taking steps to assemble a Spanish-American congress. In 1831, and also several years later, the Government of Mexico

²³ Alberdi, *Obras*, vol. II, pp. 389-408.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 399.

invited other Spanish-American republics to send delegates to a congress at Tacubaya, Panamá, or Lima. The purposes of that congress should be to promote the union of those new states for defense against foreign invasion, to encourage the mediation of neutral nations for the adjustment of disputes which might arise among them, and to formulate a code of public law that would determine their international obligations. The Mexican Government apparently received favorable replies from certain Spanish-American states, yet no congress of delegates was held.²⁵

On December 11, 1847, however, a congress of plenipotentiaries from Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, New Granada, and Peru assembled at Lima. That congress was in session at the Peruvian capital until March 1, 1848. As the protocols of the congress mentioned merely the necessity for the formation of a confederation of Spanish-American states, and as in its meetings reference seems only to have been made to the "Spanish-American republics," its members evidently had no serious thought of inviting the United States to participate in its discussions. After some deliberation this congress adopted a treaty of confederation, a treaty of commerce and navigation, and certain conventions concerning consuls and post offices. Article I of the treaty of confederation declared that the contracting states agreed to sustain the independence of each and all of them, to maintain the integrity of their respective territories, and to insure to each state the rights of sovereignty within her respective dominions. Article II declared that whenever a foreign nation might attempt to occupy or to seize the territory of any contracting state, whenever any foreign government might attempt to intervene forcibly to alter the lawful regime in any state, whenever a state might be insulted by a foreign government, and whenever adventurers, with or without the aid of a foreign government, might forcibly invade a state in order to interfere in her political affairs or to plant a colony there and the injured state was not able to secure reparation, that state should appeal to the congress of the league which might summon each republic to furnish soldiers for the support of the injured party.

²⁵ Torres Caicedo, *Unión latino-americana*, pp. 41-43.

The congress of the confederation was also authorized to act as an arbitrator or mediator in certain disputes arising between its members.²⁶

The treaty of commerce and navigation which was drawn up at Lima provided that the citizens of each republic should enjoy in the territories of the other republics all the rights and privileges of citizens of the respective republics. Products of a contracting republic introduced in vessels of that republic into the ports of another contracting republic were ordinarily to pay only one third of the import duties upon such articles produced by a non-contracting nation.²⁷ A proposal of the plenipotentiary of New Granada that the states concerned might mutually further reduce or completely extinguish import duties upon products of the contracting parties was not adopted.²⁸ Only one of those treaties, the consular convention, was ratified by a contracting party.

Nine years later another international congress was held at Santiago, which was attended by delegates from Chile, Ecuador, and Peru. On September 15, 1856, the delegates signed a "continental treaty." To that treaty, which in some particulars was more comprehensive than the treaty of confederation framed by the congress at Lima, the other states of Spanish America, as well as Brazil, were invited to subscribe.²⁹ But the continental treaty also remained a Hispanic-American aspiration. It is worthy of notice, however, that when M. Ancízar, the secretary of foreign relations of New Granada, wrote a letter to the secretary of foreign relations of Costa Rica, he proposed that the best mode of convoking an international republican congress was for the Spanish-American nations to send ministers to Washington, where, under the aegis and with the cooperation of the United States, they might fittingly install such a congress.³⁰ To this suggestion the Government of Costa Rica replied that the participation of the United States in an American congress would become indispensable only if the problems to be considered were the protection of "continental interests" or the defense of the Spanish-American nations against European aggression.³¹

²⁶ Torres Caicedo, pp. 204-19.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 241-50.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 220-27.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

French intervention in Mexico provoked an interesting propaganda in Spanish America. Under the auspices of certain thinkers, patriotic societies were organized in various Spanish-American countries. The most influential of those societies was that founded by prominent Chilean Liberals on May 25, 1862, in Santiago, a society which was designated the "American Union."³² In its statutes this society declared that its objects were to sustain the independence and to promote the union of various American states. Its statutes also provided that a *junta* of its members should correspond with similar societies in other parts of America and should make known to the public the principles which might promote a union of the American nations.³³ The *junta* of the "American Union" carried on an extensive correspondence with similar societies which sprang into existence in the towns and cities of Chile, Bolivia, Peru, and Mexico. An important measure of that *junta* provided for the collection and publication of essays and documents concerning a union of the South American nations. To this *junta* on May 14, 1864, there was submitted the design of a badge for the society, which was to be a five pointed star composed of sixteen small silver stars upon a blue background. Each silver star should represent one of the republics belonging to the "American Union." In the discussion concerning this proposed badge the significant question was raised as to whether or not a silver star representing the United States should be included in the cluster of stars.³⁴

When, on January 11, 1864, Peru issued a circular to American governments inviting them to send delegates to a congress which should assemble at Lima, she addressed only the republics of Spanish origin. An important object of that congress, as stated in the invitation, was to declare that the Spanish-American republics composed a single family whose members were bound by interest and principle to maintain their independence and autonomy.³⁵ In accepting Peru's invitation Chile's secretary of foreign relations expressed the opinion that the Spanish-American republics should not hold such a conference without

³² Lastarria and Others, vol. II, p. 27.
³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 198, 199.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 29.
³⁵ Torres Caicedo, p. 282.

the cooperation of Brazil and the United States.³⁶ On October 28, 1864, that congress opened its sessions at Lima. Its members evidently devoted some time to a discussion of the war between Peru and Spain.³⁷ The most important result of this congress was a treaty of union and defensive alliance which was signed on January 23, 1865, by delegates from Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Salvador, and Venezuela. According to that treaty the contracting nations mutually bound themselves to defend each other against any act of aggression.³⁸ This treaty was a significant reaction against the policy which Spain had pursued toward some of her former colonies in South America.

On December 11, 1875, the Peruvian Government invited the nations of Hispanic America to send delegates to a congress of jurists which should assemble at Lima. The avowed object of that congress was to formulate uniform rules concerning various juridical problems of international private law. Peru proposed that each nation accrediting delegates should concede to citizens of the other nations the same civil rights as were enjoyed by her own citizens; that a common policy should be formulated in regard to extradition; and that the laws respecting weights, measures, and monetary systems should be made uniform. Delegates to that congress from Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, and Peru assembled at Lima on December 9, 1877.³⁹ When this congress was installed J. C. J. Ros-pigliosi, the Peruvian secretary of foreign relations, made an address expressing the hope that the delegates would establish bases which would promote "the South American Confederation," and declaring that Peru had assembled delegates of the republics of the continent not to oppose the force of an American union to foreign aggression "but to write the tables of the new American Decalogue."⁴⁰ The delegates, who were joined by representatives of other Spanish-American nations, deliber-

³⁶ Torres Caicedo, p. 286.

³⁷ Uribe, *Anales diplomáticos y consulares de Colombia*, vol. III, p. 498.

³⁸ Lastarria and Others, vol. II, pp. 491-94. Cf. *International American Conference*, vol. IV, pp. 209-13.

³⁹ Uribe, vol. III, pp. 826, 827.

⁴⁰ Maúrtua, *La idea pan-americana y la cuestión del arbitraje*, pp. 114, 115.

ated in Lima until they were disturbed by the Chilean invasion. Treaties concerning extradition and international private law which were signed there by Hispanic-American delegates were not put into force.

The idea of a congress composed of delegates from the Spanish-American states seemed destined to bloom perennially. In October, 1880, the Government of Colombia addressed a circular to the republican nations of Hispanic America inviting them to send delegates to a congress that should assemble at Panamá. However, the civil and international wars which were being waged at that time prevented certain nations from accepting this invitation.⁴¹ Another move toward a congress composed of delegates of Hispanic-American nations came from southern South America. On February 14, 1888, the Argentine secretary of foreign relations and Uruguay's minister at Buenos Aires signed a protocol by which their respective governments agreed to invite "separately but simultaneously" the independent states of South America to send delegates to an international law congress whose object should be to conclude a treaty of private international law.⁴² To this congress, which assembled at Montevideo, delegates were sent by Chile, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay. A series of treaties were signed respecting civil law, property, trade marks, patents, and the exercise of the liberal professions.⁴³ The governments of some of the states represented at this congress subsequently ratified those treaties.⁴⁴

While jurists and statesmen in South America were contemplating a union of the Hispanic-American states, there were certain publicists in the United States who dreamed of closer relations among the nations of America. After several states had seceded from the federal union Stephen A. Douglas wrote a pamphlet entitled *An American Continental Commercial Union or Alliance*. In that pamphlet Douglas considered how to secure the advantages of "free trade, transit, and intercourse" between the United States and other American states "without the inconveniences and perils" of incorporating them into the

⁴¹ Uribe, vol. iv, pp. 112, 185, 186.

⁴² *International American Conference*, vol. iv, pp. 282, 283.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

⁴⁴ Alvarez, *Le droit international américaine*, p. 107, n. 2.

United States. His solution was a project for a commercial union which should include all the "political communities" in North America "from the frozen ocean to the Isthmus of Panamá." This believer in the manifest destiny of the United States said: "Abolish all interior customhouses, break down every barrier, and remove every restraint upon commercial and social intercourse between the United States and the British possessions on the north, and Mexico, Cuba, and the Central American states on the south."⁴⁵ Evidently Douglas designed to include British America, as well as certain Spanish-American states and the United States, within an American Zollverein.

In a similar strain Elijah Ward subsequently argued in favor of the formation of a commercial union in America.⁴⁶ On January 21, 1880, David Davis of Illinois introduced into the United States Senate a bill providing that a convention of delegates from the independent nations of America should be held at Washington in order to consider the promotion of a Pan-American railroad.⁴⁷ Davis' proposal was perhaps the first move made in the United States toward the convocation by that government of an international American conference.

But the American statesman of the nineteenth century who did most to stimulate Pan-Americanism in the United States was James G. Blaine. One of his biographers has asserted that it was in the study of Clay's speeches concerning Spanish-American emancipation that Blaine found the inspiration for a Pan-American policy. On November 29, 1881, Blaine, who was pursuing an aggressive policy as secretary of state under President Garfield, issued, in the name of that President, "to all the independent countries of North and South America an earnest invitation" to participate in a general congress to be held in Washington on November 24, 1882, "for the purpose of considering and discussing the methods of preventing war between the nations of America." Blaine proposed that each nation should be represented by two commissioners who were to be provided with such instructions on behalf of their govern-

⁴⁵ Douglas, *An American Continental Commercial Union or Alliance*, p. 13.

⁴⁶ Ward, *A Free Continental System*, p. 14.

⁴⁷ *International American Conference*, vol. iv, pp. 293, 294.

ment as would enable them to consider the questions brought before the congress.⁴⁸ Although several Hispanic-American states announced their intentions to send delegates to the proposed Pan-American congress,⁴⁹ yet the assassination of President Garfield and the resulting appointment of a new secretary of state was followed by the withdrawal of Blaine's invitation.⁵⁰

Blaine did not relish the change in foreign policy made by Secretary Frelinghuysen. He tried to vindicate his Pan-American policy to the people of the United States in an article entitled "The Foreign Policy of the Garfield Administration." In that article Blaine explained the two main objects of his policy: first, to promote peace and to prevent wars in North and South America; and, second, to cultivate such friendly commercial relations with all American countries as would lead to a large increase in the export trade of the United States. "To attain the second object the first must be accomplished. Instead of friendly intervention here and there, patching up a treaty between two countries today, securing a truce between two others tomorrow, it was apparent to the President," said Blaine, "that a more comprehensive plan should be adopted if war were to cease in the Western Hemisphere." The prime object of the proposed congress was to formulate "a common agreement of peace, permanent in character and continental in extent." Blaine averred that, if the United States would "not offer friendly intervention to settle troubles between American countries," she would have to concede such a right to European governments which would be a "practical destruction of the Monroe Doctrine." He said that a natural result of a Pan-American congress would have been an international American commercial conference. He expressed the conviction that, in any case, the "example of seventeen nations, solemnly agreeing to abolish the arbitrament of the sword and to settle every dispute by peaceful methods of adjudication would have exerted an influence to the utmost confines of civilization and upon generations of men yet to come."⁵¹

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 255-58.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 258-75.

⁵⁰ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1882, pp. 4, 58.

⁵¹ Crawford, James G. Blaine, pp. 527-45.

Although Blaine's project had been frustrated, yet the plan of a Pan-American congress was not relinquished by the United States. Three commissioners who were sent by that government to visit Central and South America recommended that an invitation should be extended to the other governments of America to send delegates to a conference at Washington which should have as its main object the promotion of more intimate relations among American nations.⁵² Subsequently several bills were introduced into Congress authorizing the President to convoke an international American conference.⁵³ In 1888 a bill finally became a law which incorporated certain propositions that had been cordially approved by several governments of Hispanic America.⁵⁴

In accordance with that law, on July 13, 1888, Secretary Bayard issued invitations to the independent Hispanic-American states to send delegates to a conference which should meet at Washington on October 2, 1889. This Conference was to consider eight specific subjects: (1) measures which would promote the peace and prosperity of the American states; (2) measures for the formation of an American customs union; (3) the establishment of free and regular communication between American ports; (4) a uniform system of customs regulations; (5) a uniform standard of weights and measures; (6) uniform patent, copyright, and trade-mark laws; (7) the adoption of a common silver coin; and (8) the agreement upon a definite plan of arbitration for the American nations. Bayard directed attention to the fact that the conference was merely consultative in character and was not designed to affect existing treaty relations. A state might send as many delegates as convenient, but each state could have only one vote.⁵⁵

Before October 2, 1889, all the American nations had acted favorably upon the invitation except Haiti, which accepted two days after the conference opened. To that conference the states of Hispanic America sent men who had earned distinction

⁵² *Report of the Commission appointed under an Act of Congress approved July 7, 1884*, pp. 32, 33.

⁵³ *International American Conference*, vol. iv, pp. 310-75.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 366, 367.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 7-9.

as lawyers, publicists, and scholars. Among the delegates of the United States were W. H. Trescot, the diplomat, and the ironmaster, Andrew Carnegie. By a strange chance Blaine had again become secretary of state, and, on October 2, 1889, in eloquent words he welcomed to Washington the delegates from twelve Hispanic-American nations:

No conference of nations has ever assembled to consider the welfare of territorial possessions so vast and to contemplate the possibilities of a future so great and so inspiring. Those now sitting within these walls are empowered to speak for nations whose borders are on both the great oceans, whose northern limits are touched by the Arctic waters for a thousand miles beyond the Straits of Behring and whose southern extension furnishes human habitations farther below the equator than is elsewhere possible on the globe.⁵⁶

By a happy act Blaine was selected to preside over the conference. He appointed the various committees to which the conference assigned special subjects for reports. The conference took the invitation issued by Secretary Bayard as its program. With regard to an American zollverein the majority of the committee to which the matter was referred felt that such a project was impracticable and recommended instead the negotiation of separate reciprocity treaties. The proposal that a common silver coin should be adopted by the American nations was considered highly impracticable. A project to build, or rather to complete, the so-called Pan-American railway by the construction of railways to connect existing lines, was recommended. Several international agreements or recommendations were framed, such as projected treaties concerning patents, trade-marks, and copyrights. The measure upon which interest centered, however, was the project for international arbitration. There were many differences of opinion about this among the delegates. In order to reconcile the discordant views Blaine himself drafted an arbitration plan. On April 18, 1890, a project for international arbitration was approved. That project provided that arbitration should be adopted by the American nations "as a principle of American international law" for the

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 39, 40.

solution of disputes among themselves or between them and other powers. Arbitration should be obligatory in all controversies except those which, in the opinion of one of the nations involved in the controversy, compromised her independence.⁵⁷ But the nations represented at this conference did not carry out the recommendation to adopt treaties modeled upon its noble ideal. This "new Magna Charta" did not replace war in the Americas by arbitration.

From a practical standpoint the action of this conference which produced the most important results was the recommendation concerning the establishment of an information bureau which should be supported by all the American republics. The Congress of the United States soon appropriated money for the support of such a bureau and the other American governments did likewise. In consequence there was established at Washington the International Bureau of American Republics, which collected a library of books concerning Hispanic America, and published a useful monthly bulletin and many special bulletins concerning the American republics.

Accordingly in one particular, at least, the recommendations of the International American Conference of 1889-1890 were more than platonic. But, aside from all practical considerations, the convocation, for the first time in the history of the world, of representatives of the independent nations of a hemisphere was highly significant. Delegates of nations which were "almost unknown to each other" became acquainted. The head of the Mexican delegation, Minister Romero, indeed declared that the most important result of the First International American Conference was "the sentiment of mutual respect and consideration" which was spread among its delegates.⁵⁸

The Second International American Conference was held at Mexico City in 1901-1902. In the invitation issued by Ignacio Mariscal, Mexican secretary of foreign affairs, special mention was made of the "predominance of justice" as a subject for

⁵⁷ *International American Conference*, vol. II, pp. 1078-83; Romero, "The Pan-American Conference," in *North American Review*, vol. CLI, pp. 411-14.

⁵⁸ Romero, "The Pan-American Conference," *loc. cit.*, vol. CLI, p. 420

consideration.⁵⁹ To that conference the independent American states sent delegates, not all of whom had plenary powers. Those delegates agreed to several conventions concerning such matters as the codification of international law, extradition, copyrights, patents, and trade-marks. Most important was a protocol of adherence to the Hague Convention of 1899 for the peaceful adjustment of international differences, a protocol which was signed by almost all of the delegates.⁶⁰ A few days after the conference closed the delegates of nine Spanish-American nations agreed to a treaty that bound the signatory powers to submit to arbitration all controversies arising among themselves which diplomacy could not settle, except such disputes as involved independence or national honor.⁶¹ Before the conference closed almost all of its delegates signed a treaty providing for the arbitration of important pecuniary claims presented by their respective citizens that could not be adjusted by diplomacy.⁶² Subsequently the United States and several Hispanic-American republics ratified the convention concerning copyrights and the convention about the exchange of publications which had been adopted by the conference at Mexico City.⁶³

The Third International American Conference assembled at Rio de Janeiro in 1906. Among the topics mentioned in the invitation of the Brazilian Government as proper subjects for discussion were arbitration, pecuniary claims, public debts, and the codification of public and private international law.⁶⁴ At Rio de Janeiro no delegates appeared from Haiti or Venezuela, while delegates were admitted from the new states of Cuba and Panamá. Some significant measures were adopted in regard to arbitration. A resolution was unanimously approved recommending that the respective nations should give instructions to their delegates to the next Hague Conference to promote the adoption of a universal treaty of arbitration.⁶⁵ Another resolution was adopted suggesting that the governments represented should invite the Hague Conference to consider means "to

⁵⁹ Second International Conference of the American States, pp. 27-30.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-39.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-47.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 139-43.

⁶³ Barrett and Yáñez, *Fifth Pan American Conference*, p. 92.

⁶⁴ *Third International American Conference*, pp. 5-6.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 569-71.

diminish between nations conflicts having an exclusively pecuniary origin." Conventions were signed providing for the renewal, with one modification, of the treaty signed at Mexico City in regard to the arbitration of pecuniary claims.⁶⁶ Other conventions were approved establishing the status of naturalized citizens who again took up their residence in the land of their birth,⁶⁷ and arranging for the codification of international law by a commission of jurists composed of one member appointed by each of the signatory nations.⁶⁸ These conventions, as well as a convention regarding patents, trade-marks, and artistic property, were subsequently ratified by the United States and by several of the Hispanic-American republics.⁶⁹ Among other resolutions adopted at Rio de Janeiro was one in favor of future American conferences.

The conference at Rio de Janeiro was significant partly because it was made the occasion of a visit to South America by Secretary of State Root which, more than any other visit by a citizen of the United States to Hispanic America, helped to stimulate Pan-Americanism. During this trip Root made speeches in Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Colombia, and Panamá. To suggest their admirable spirit let us quote briefly from his speech to the Pan-American Conference: "We wish for no victories but those of peace; for no territory except our own; for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. . . . We wish to increase our prosperity, to expand our trade, to grow in wealth, in wisdom, in spirit, but our conception of the true way to accomplish this is not to pull others down and profit by their ruin, but to help all friends to a common prosperity and a common growth, that we may all become greater and stronger together."⁷⁰

The Fourth International American Conference which met at Buenos Aires in 1910 was attended by delegates from every American republic except Bolivia. Several significant conventions and resolutions were approved. American republics

⁶⁶ *Third International American Conference*, pp. 587-90. On the action of the Hague Conference, see pp. 127-28, *supra*.

⁶⁷ *Third International American Conference*, pp. 583-86.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 625-30.

⁶⁹ Barrett and Yáñez, *Fifth Pan American Conference*, pp. 100-3.

⁷⁰ Root, *Speeches incident to the Visit of Secretary Root to South America*, p. 12.

again agreed by a convention to submit to arbitration important pecuniary claims of their respective citizens which could not be adjusted by diplomacy. They agreed that, unless the parties concerned should decide upon a special tribunal, such claims were to be submitted to the Hague Court. This treaty was to go into force for an indefinite period on January 1, 1913.⁷¹ Another convention provided for the reciprocal recognition of the rights of literary and artistic property obtained in any one of the contracting states.⁷² A convention in regard to patents stipulated that a citizen holding a patent in one state should enjoy patent rights in the other states according to their respective laws.⁷³ According to another convention, trade-marks registered in one of those states should be considered as registered in the other states.⁷⁴ These four conventions were later ratified by several of the Hispanic-American republics and by the United States.⁷⁵ Among the resolutions there was one recommending the interchange of professors and students between American universities.⁷⁶

On August 11, 1910, an important resolution was adopted regarding the future management and functions of the International Bureau of American Republics. That resolution declared that the international union created by the First Conference should maintain this bureau which, however, should thenceforth be designated as the "Pan-American Union." Among its chief functions should be the collection and distribution of statistics regarding the commerce and education of the American nations, and the compilation of information concerning the laws in force in those nations as well as concerning the treaties and conventions negotiated by them. It should preserve the archives of the International American Conferences, should act as their permanent commission, and should promote the ratification of their resolutions. The general control of the Pan-American Union was entrusted to a board composed of the diplomatic representatives of the American republics at Wash-

⁷¹ Cuarta conferencia internacional americana, vol. II, pp. 575-80.

⁷² Ibid., pp. 567-74.

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 607-14.

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 639-51.

⁷⁵ Barrett and Yáñez, *Fifth Pan American Conference*, pp. 106-9.

⁷⁶ Cuarta conferencia internacional americana, vol. II, pp. 603-6.

ton with the secretary of state of the United States acting as chairman. A director and a subdirector selected by the governing board were to administer that union. In the capital of each republic there should be a Pan-American committee to cooperate with the Pan-American Union.⁷⁷

The Pan-American Union is now installed in a beautiful building in Washington which was erected by funds donated by Andrew Carnegie. Under the direction of John Barrett it has exerted a strong influence in favor of better relations among the American republics. A resolution of the Fourth International American Conference endorsing the plan for another conference, which the managerial board of the Pan American Union later decided should be held in Santiago de Chile, was not carried out because of the World War.

However, the World War has stimulated Pan-Americanism in a practical manner by promoting a movement in favor of better financial, as well as commercial, relations between the United States and the nations of Hispanic America. On September 10, 1914, the secretaries of state and commerce of the United States held a meeting at Washington where diplomatic and consular representatives of certain Hispanic-American countries expressed their views concerning the industry and commerce of their respective countries with some reference to the effects of the World War. In the interchange of opinions Secretary of Commerce Redfield suggested that a more formal conference might soon be held.⁷⁸

The diplomatic and consular appropriations bill which became a law on March 4, 1915, contained a paragraph authorizing the President to invite the governments of Central and South America to send delegates to a conference with the secretary of the treasury in Washington "with a view to establishing closer and more satisfactory financial relations between their countries and the United States of America." Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo was authorized to invite representative bankers of the United States to take part in the Pan-American

⁷⁷ *Cuarta conferencia internacional americana*, vol. II, pp. 545-54. See further, Zeballos, *Conferencias internacionales americanas*, pp. 48-51.

⁷⁸ *Statements on the Latin American Trade Situation*, p. 16.

Financial Conference.⁷⁹ In accordance with that act, on March 12, 1915, Secretary of State Bryan addressed to each of the Hispanic-American states, with the exception of Mexico, an invitation to send delegates to a conference which should assemble at Washington on May 10, 1915. In his invitation Secretary Bryan expressed the hope that the respective countries would be able to send their ministers or secretaries of finance to the conference, and stated that, in addition to the appointed delegates of the respective countries, there would be invited to attend the conference their diplomatic representatives at Washington and prominent bankers of the United States. Bryan also voiced the expectation that this conference would discuss, "in addition to the problems of banking, problems of transportation and commerce between the various countries represented."⁸⁰

The invitation was given a cordial reception by the Hispanic-American states. On May 24, 1915, the First Pan-American Financial Conference assembled in the Pan-American building at Washington. It was composed of from one to three delegates from each of the following states: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panamá, Paraguay, Peru, Salvador, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Over that conference Secretary Redfield presided. At its opening session addresses of welcome were made by President Wilson and Secretary Bryan; and responses were made by the chairmen of the various delegations. The President expressed the hope in his address that the "commerce of minds with one another, as well as commerce in goods," might enable the citizens of the United States to show the world "the path to peace."⁸¹ In an address to the second session of the conference Secretary McAdoo expressed his desire that the delegates of Hispanic America would furnish the United States with the fullest information about "the financial and economic needs" of their respective countries. He announced that the delegates of the United States had been divided into eighteen committees, each of

⁷⁹ *Proceedings of the First Pan American Financial Conference*, p. 7.
⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

which was to confer with the delegation of a particular Hispanic-American country.⁸²

The proceedings of the First Pan-American Financial Conference were accordingly carried on by a series of committee meetings. Each committee was composed of the members of a foreign delegation together with representative bankers and business men of the United States. At the sessions of those groups, which were not open to the public, opportunity was given for the free expression of views. The Hispanic-American delegates made known the pressing commercial and financial needs of their respective countries, while the delegates of the United States expressed their opinions concerning the solutions of certain problems.

As it soon became evident that the delegates considered the improvement of communication and transportation between the United States and the Hispanic-American states of prime importance, a general committee was appointed to consider that problem. Another general committee was chosen to consider the standardization of commercial laws and the establishment of an international commercial court for the American nations. Upon May 28 the reports of two general committees and of eighteen special committees were presented to the conference. The reports of the special committees contained interesting and valuable data about financial, industrial, and commercial conditions in Hispanic-American countries, as well as about their relations with the United States. In every special report suggestions or recommendations were made respecting the policy which the United States should adopt in her relations with the particular country concerned.⁸³ Secretary McAdoo pointed out that there was practical unanimity in the view that United States bankers and business men should grant "ample credits" to Hispanic America and should promptly provide "the necessary organization and facilities for this purpose."⁸⁴ It was the consensus of opinion that such procedure by business men was imperatively necessary because of the dis-

⁸² *Proceedings of the First Pan American Financial Conference*, p. 115.
⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 315-468.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

location of European credit in Hispanic-American states due to the World War.

The report of the general committee about uniformity of laws concerning commerce and about the establishment of an international commercial court mentioned the adoption of a gold standard in America, bills of exchange, commercial paper, bills of lading, regulations concerning commercial travelers, the establishment of "a uniform low rate of postage" between American countries, and the use of arbitration for the settlement of commercial disputes between merchants of different nations. For the purpose of securing uniformity of laws upon such subjects the committee recommended the establishment of an international high commission, to be composed of nine members selected by the secretary of the treasury of each country. The committee also recommended that to aid this commission there should be established a special bureau in the Pan-American Union.⁸⁵ That report was unanimously adopted by the conference.⁸⁶

The general committee on "Transportation and Communication" reported unanimously "that such plans should be adopted as will most speedily establish direct, effective, and permanent transportation facilities between the United States and the Republics of South and Central America."⁸⁷ The problem of such communication resolved itself into the mode of establishing better transportation between the United States and the countries upon the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of South America. Upon that topic two different reports were made. On the one side, a subcommittee composed of delegates from Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay recommended that a line of fast mail steamers should be established between ports in the United States and the capitals of Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay, and that those steamers should virtually be paid a proportionate subsidy by the respective governments. On the other side, a delegate from Chile recommended that ample steamship communication should be established between the United States and Ecuador,

⁸⁵ *Proceedings of the First Pan American Financial Conference*, pp. 301-3.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 309.

Peru, and Chile, through the establishment of steamship lines by a private company in which the United States Government and the governments of the interested Hispanic-American states might own stock.⁸⁸

The endeavors of Protestant sects to plant missions in Hispanic-American states have also had an influence upon Pan-Americanism. After some consideration of the subject the Foreign Missions Conference of North America arranged for a meeting in New York City in 1913 which should be composed of representatives of organizations in Canada and the United States that were engaged in missionary activities in Hispanic America. That meeting selected a committee "to deal with the whole subject of the work in Hispanic America and especially with the question of cooperation,"⁸⁹ a committee which was styled the committee on cooperation in Latin America. In the midsummer of 1914 this committee convoked at Cincinnati a conference of representatives of boards which were engaged in missionary work in Mexico. At that conference a plan was approved providing for the adjustment of the boundaries of the missionary districts which had been occupied by several Protestant sects in Mexico, and also providing for the cooperation of those sects in the evangelization of that country.⁹⁰ Then the committee on cooperation addressed a circular letter to Protestant missionaries throughout Hispanic America to inform them of the intentions of the committee, to make suggestions about cooperation, and to ask for expressions of opinion regarding the best time and place to hold a conference or conferences upon Hispanic-American missions. Responses from missionaries indicated that they favored the convocation of one deliberative conference which should be held in Hispanic America.⁹¹

The committee on cooperation finally decided to hold the conference in the city of Panamá. A committee on arrangements was appointed, which set the date for the conference in February, 1916. By December, 1914, eight commissions had been appointed which were to prepare reports upon the follow-

⁸⁸ *Proceedings of the First Pan American Financial Conference*, pp. 307-8.

⁸⁹ *Christian Work in Latin America*, vol. I, p. 9.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 111-20.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 10-12.

ing topics: survey and occupation, message and method, education, literature, women's work, the church in the field, the home base, cooperation, and the promotion of unity.⁹² An important decision was reached to admit as delegates to the congress "leaders of the national churches, missionaries, officers, and members of mission Boards, Christian laymen from North America and Europe, and earnest men from Hispanic America interested in the spiritual development of their people irrespective of their ecclesiastical relationships."⁹³ Mission boards which supported agents in Hispanic America were allowed four delegates apiece, and an additional delegate was allowed for each twenty thousand dollars expended annually in that field. Further, any organization or society which was interested in Hispanic America, even though it did not maintain an agent in that field, was invited to send a delegate. The committee on arrangements reserved the right to select other delegates from interested persons who were neither missionaries nor members of mission boards.⁹⁴ To the conference which was styled the "Congress on Christian Work in Latin America" the committee on arrangements invited leaders of Christian churches, including the Roman Catholic Church.⁹⁵

This Christian congress held its sessions in the Hotel Tivoli at Panamá from February 10 to February 19, 1916. It was attended by one hundred and forty-nine representatives from Hispanic America, and one hundred and fifty-five from the United States, Canada, England, Spain, and Italy.⁹⁶ On February 10 Professor Eduardo Monteverde of the University of Montevideo was made president of the congress and Dr. R. E. Speer, chairman of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in the United States, was selected to serve as its president when it should act as a committee. Various committees were elected, such as the business committee, the press committee, and the editorial committee.⁹⁷ Evening sessions were used for addresses by prominent members of the congress. Its morning and afternoon sessions were largely devoted to discussions of commission reports. The reports of committees and discussions thereon

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 12-14.
⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21.
⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22.
⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 429, 430.

with appendices containing other data which were published by this congress contain a large amount of valuable information concerning Protestant activities in Hispanic America. So fruitful in results was the congress that steps were taken to provide for its continuance. Resolutions adopted on February 18 provided that the committee on cooperation in Hispanic America should be "enlarged and reconstituted" so as to include the representatives of Canadian and European missionary agencies, the representatives of missionary agencies in the United States, and also *ex-officio* members composed of officials representing the missions of churches in Hispanic-American countries.⁹⁸

The Christian congress at Panamá served as a great object lesson. That congress encouraged inter-American good will, stimulated missionary activity in Hispanic America, and led to a keener realization of the need for the cooperation of Protestant sects in the evangelization of the Hispanic-American nations. It has not inappropriately been said that this congress "sounded a call to a fuller fellowship of faith and race."⁹⁹

Intellectual leaders of America have also contributed to the development of Pan-Americanism by virtue of their common interest in scientific achievements. The Argentine Scientific Society initiated the movement which blossomed into the Pan-American Scientific Congress. To celebrate the anniversary of its foundation, at the instance of that society, the Argentine Government invited scholars from Hispanic-American countries to meet in Buenos Aires. In consequence, on April 10, 1898, scientists from various countries met in that city to discuss economic and scientific questions of common interest. Those scientists decided to continue the meetings. Hence the Second Latin-American Scientific Congress assembled in Montevideo on March 20, 1901, and the Third Latin-American Scientific Congress assembled at Rio de Janeiro on August 6, 1905. Those Scientific Congresses carried on their work in sections which considered such subjects as mathematics, physical science, and the social sciences. In the meeting at Rio de Janeiro the signifi-

⁹⁸ *Christian Work in Latin America*, vol. III, pp. 448, 449.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 33.

cant decision was made to transform the Hispanic-American scientific gatherings into Pan-American Scientific Congresses. It was arranged that the first meeting of the Pan-American Scientific Congress should take place at Santiago de Chile in December, 1908.¹⁰⁰

In the latter part of 1907, Dr. Valentin Letelier, president of the University of Chile and chairman of the executive committee of the First Pan-American Scientific Congress, addressed to the United States Government and to the important universities and scientific societies of that country an invitation to send delegates to the congress. This invitation was received with favor by that government; and Congress made an appropriation of thirty-five thousand dollars to pay the expenses of a delegation. Secretary Root appointed ten delegates, headed by Professor L. S. Rowe of the University of Pennsylvania, to represent the United States. In addition, several universities of the United States sent delegates to the Chilean capital.¹⁰¹

Several hundred delegates attended the First Pan-American Scientific Congress which assembled in Santiago de Chile on December 25, 1908. Argentina and Chile sent the largest delegations. The scientists met daily in the following sections: pure and applied mathematics; physical sciences; natural, anthropological, and ethnological sciences; engineering; medical science and hygiene; juridical sciences; social sciences; pedagogy and philosophy; and agronomy and zootechnics. Delegates from the United States submitted contributions to certain sections and a considerable number of papers were transmitted to Santiago by other citizens of the United States. Thirty-one of those papers were translated into Spanish and submitted to the congress. Among them were the following studies: "Recent Advances in the Study of Typhoid Fever" by M. T. Rosenau; "The Reclaiming of Arid Lands in the United States" by F. W. Newell; "Notes on the Sanitation of Yellow Fever and Malaria, from Isthmian Experience" by Dr. H. R. Carter; "Plague, Methods of Control" by Dr. T. C. Perry; "Uniformity and

¹⁰⁰ "First Pan American Scientific Congress," in *Bulletin of the International Bureau of the American Republics*, vol. xxviii, pp. 580-84.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 584, 585.

Cooperation in the Census Methods of the Republics of the American Continent" by Roscoe Pound; "Reinforced Concrete Construction for South America" by W. H. Burr; and "The Process for the Concentration of Ores" by R. H. Richards. Among the contributions presented by delegates of the United States may be mentioned: P. S. Reinsch, "America and International Law"; L. S. Rowe, "Public Opinion as a Factor in American Democracies"; and Dr. W. C. Gorgas, "Sanitation of the Tropics with Special Reference to Malaria and Yellow Fever."¹⁰²

A large number of interesting and valuable papers were presented by delegates from Hispanic-American countries. Among the papers presented to the section of the congress which was devoted to history and law may be mentioned a treatise by the Chilean scholar, Alejandro Álvarez, on "American International Law," a monograph by the Peruvian historian, José de la Riva Agüero, entitled "An Examination of the First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega," and an article by the Colombian publicist, Francisco José Urrutia, entitled "The Evolution of the Principle of Arbitration in America." Those titles will suggest how scientists and scholars from North and South America placed their knowledge at the disposal of the congress.¹⁰³

Shortly before it adjourned the scientific congress adopted a series of recommendations and resolutions. It adopted a resolution expressing approval at the initiative taken by the United States in the construction of the Panamá Canal. It expressed approval of the movement in favor of laws for the protection of laborers. Among its recommendations were that all the American republics should establish departments of labor and that an international American labor bureau should be organized, that measures should be adopted to standardize the process of taking a census in the American republics, that American universities should convene a Pan-American social congress, and that a future scientific congress should form a section to consider problems of the press.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² *Trabajos del cuarto congreso científico*, vols. I, VII, XIV, XVI, XVIII, XX.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, vol. XX.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

The Second Pan-American Scientific Congress assembled at Washington on December 27, 1915. To that congress official delegates were sent from twenty-one independent nations of the New World. Several hundred delegates were sent to the congress from commercial, educational, and scientific organizations in the United States. Unofficial delegates from educational institutions and scientific societies of Hispanic-American republics also attended this congress. The president of the congress was Eduardo Suárez Mujica, ambassador of Chile to the United States.

The Second Pan-American Scientific Congress was composed of nine sections which were divided into forty-five subsections. Its nine sections were anthropology; astronomy, meteorology, and seismology; conservation of natural resources, agriculture, irrigation, and forestry; education; engineering; international law, public law, and jurisprudence; mining and metallurgy, economic geology, and applied chemistry; public health and medical science; and transportation, commerce, finance, and taxation. Specialists from various American countries presented about one thousand papers for discussion—papers in English, Spanish, and Portuguese which contained valuable contributions to Pan-American knowledge.¹⁰⁵ Most significant was the adoption by this congress of a Final Act which was signed by the official delegates. That act was composed of forty-nine articles embodying conclusions which had been reached by other international American congresses and formulating other recommendations of international interest. The last article requested the Government of the United States to transmit the resolutions and recommendations of the Final Act to the governments participating in the congress.¹⁰⁶ In a learned commentary accompanying that act James Brown Scott, an official delegate of the United States, expressed the hope that the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress had contributed to the success of future congresses; that it formed a "link in an ever-lengthening and indeed endless chain, and that through

¹⁰⁵ *Proceedings of the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress.*

¹⁰⁶ *Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, The Final Act and Interpretative Commentary Thereon*, pp. 51-153.

their combined efforts there may emerge an intellectual Pan-Americanism. . . .”¹⁰⁷

In his address of welcome to the delegates Secretary of State Lansing had indeed struck the keynote of this congress. He said that the essential qualities of Pan-Americanism were “those of the family:—sympathy, helpfulness, and a sincere desire to see another grow in prosperity, absence of covetousness of another’s possessions, absence of jealousy of another’s prominence, and above all absence of that spirit of intrigue which menaces the domestic peace of a neighbor.” Secretary Lansing declared that Pan-Americanism harmonized with the Monroe Doctrine. That doctrine was “a national policy of the United States,” while Pan-Americanism was “an international policy of the Americas.” The motives, said Lansing, were “to an extent different,” but the ends sought were the same. Rightly did he say that Pan-Americanism found its application in various fields of activity. He expressed the opinion that from the exchange of ideas the peoples of America would come to know each other better; and that from this broader knowledge “a mutual esteem and trust” would spring which would unite the American republics more closely and would give to “the Pan-American spirit an impulse and power” that it had never known.¹⁰⁸ After a telegram of greeting from President Wilson had been read, Suárez Mujica referred to Lansing’s address and also to President Wilson’s last annual message to congress as embodying the principle of “American confraternity.” The Chilean ambassador said that by virtue of these expressions of purpose by United States officials that government had erased “with a friendly hand . . . the last traces of any past misunderstandings and any erroneous interpretations which may have in former times clouded the political horizon of America.”¹⁰⁹

President Wilson’s policy toward Hispanic America had been clearly enunciated upon two occasions: in an address to a commercial convention at Mobile, October 27, 1913, and in a mes-

¹⁰⁷ Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, *The Final Act and Interpretative Commentary Thereon*, p. 154.

¹⁰⁸ “The Second Pan American Scientific Congress,” in *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, vol. XLI, pp. 764, 767.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 774, 775.

sage to Congress about two years later. In his Mobile address the President defined the relations of the American states as that of "a family of mankind devoted to the development of true constitutional Liberty."¹¹⁰

In the President's message to Congress on December 7, 1915, he declared that the neutral policy which had been adopted by the American states toward the warring powers of Europe had made them "conscious of a new and more vital community of interest and moral partnership in affairs, more clearly conscious of the many common sympathies and interests and duties which bid them stand together." He said that there was "a time in the early days of our own great nation and of the republics fighting their way to independence in Central and South America when the Government of the United States looked upon itself as in some sort the guardian of the republics to the south of her. . . ." But he declared that conditions in the New World had radically changed since the age of Monroe, and that, at present, on the part of the United States there was "no claim of guardianship or thought of wards but, instead, a full and honorable association as of partners between ourselves and our neighbors, in the interest of all America, north and south. Our concern for the independence and prosperity of the states of Central and South America is not altered. We retain unabated the spirit that has inspired us throughout the whole life of our government and which was so frankly put into words by President Monroe. We still mean always to make a common cause of national independence and of political liberty in America. . . . All the governments of America stand, so far as we are concerned, upon a footing of genuine equality and unquestioned independence." He declared that the United States sought "no political suzerainty or selfish control."

The moral is, that the states of America are not hostile rivals but cooperating friends, and that their growing sense of community interest, alike in matters political and in matters economic, is likely to give them a new significance as factors in international affairs and in the political history of the world. It presents them as in a very true and

¹¹⁰ Robinson and West, *The Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson*, pp. 200, 201.

deep sense a unit in world affairs, spiritual partners, standing together, quick with common sympathies and common ideals. Separated they are subject to all the cross currents of the confused politics of a world of hostile rivalries; united in spirit and purpose they cannot be disappointed of their peaceful destiny.

This is Pan-Americanism. It has none of the spirit of empire in it. It is the embodiment, the effectual embodiment, of the spirit of law and independence and liberty and mutual service.¹¹¹

The ideals which were thus voiced by President Wilson concerning the relations between the United States and the Hispanic-American republics in reality constituted a Pan-American Monroe Doctrine. On January 7, 1916, in a somewhat different form President Wilson reiterated the sentiments of his message in an address to the Pan-American Scientific Congress.¹¹² Ernesto Quesada, the chairman of the Argentine delegation to that congress, designated the doctrine expounded by Lansing and Wilson as "the new Pan Americanism."¹¹³ To use the terminology which has sometimes been employed in respect to other interpretations of the Monroe Doctrine by American Presidents, the principles enunciated by the President in his message of December 7 may be designated the Wilson Doctrine.

Let us notice briefly the reception accorded to that doctrine in Hispanic America. In northern South America Wilson's Doctrine was little noticed. The only comment made by a newspaper in the capital of Venezuela was that of *El universal* which laconically said that the message of President Wilson contained "principles of Pan-American transcendency" whose significance was "of positive, actual interest in regard to the policy of the United States toward the other nations of the hemisphere."¹¹⁴ Almost the only comment upon Wilson's message in Bogotá was printed by *El tiempo*, which characterized it as "a most important message—the most sensational of all his messages."¹¹⁵

An influential newspaper of Lima, *El comercio*, commented at

¹¹¹ *Congressional Record*, vol. LIII, pp. 95, 96.

¹¹² *Daily Bulletin*, Second Pan American Scientific Congress, January 7, 1918.

¹¹³ Quesada, *El nuevo panamericanismo y el congreso científico de Washington*.

¹¹⁴ *El universal*, December 23, 1915.

¹¹⁵ *El tiempo*, January 5, 1916.

length upon Wilson's message in an editorial which was entitled "A Just Concept of the Monroe Doctrine." *El comercio* interpreted that message to signify that "the Imperialistic policy" of the United States which had led to a "series of interventions and threats of interventions" in Hispanic America had "terminated as a norm of conduct in the international relations of the American states." In an article in *El mercurio*, the leading daily of Santiago de Chile, the editor declared that Wilson's "striking words" were "the most explicit consecration" of the new ideal which animated the policy of the United States toward the Hispanic-American nations. *La nación* of Buenos Aires, the great newspaper founded by the distinguished Argentine leader Bartolomé Mitre, said that seldom had a President of the United States penned so interesting a message,—a message which declared that "the concept of Pan-Americanism does not contain any imperialistic spirit, but a spirit of legality, friendship, and mutual service." *La prensa* of the same city declared that the foreign policy of the United States was becoming Americanized, that the perusal of Wilson's message had produced in Buenos Aires "a deep sensation and an immense satisfaction," that this state paper would be a document "as memorable and as transcendental" regarding the destinies of the American nations as the memorable message of President Monroe. "Both messages symbolize concepts of American solidarity which differ just as the epochs differ in which they brought the continents closer together."

Some adverse comment was, of course, to be expected. As an illustration of this will serve the criticism of a prominent Brazilian writer, Alberto Torres, who took issue with the notion of closer relations between the United States and Hispanic America. He declared that when the nations of America were united by the international doctrine of Pan-Americanism, they would still remain subject to the Monroe Doctrine—the national doctrine of the United States. An editorial in the *Jornal do comercio*, the leading daily of Rio de Janeiro, discussed Wilson's message mainly from the Pan-American viewpoint and said that it had great political significance. The editor declared that

an essential part of a defensive program of the American nations against the menacing imperialism of Europe was to draw closer "the bond of moral, political, and economic solidarity among the American republics." In general it may be said that Wilson's Pan-American Monroe Doctrine struck a responsive chord in the hearts of many South American editors and thinkers.¹¹⁶

The World War affected Pan-Americanism. On April 7, 1917, immediately after the United States declared the existence of a state of war between herself and Germany the congress of Cuba adopted a joint resolution announcing that a state of war existed between that republic and the German Empire.¹¹⁷ At the same time, the republic of Panamá declared her adhesion to that policy.¹¹⁸ Certain states of Central America broke off diplomatic relations with Germany in the same year. Before the end of July, 1918, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Honduras had declared themselves in a state of war with the German Empire. In the decree of July 19, 1918, by which Honduras declared war on Germany, she said that she thus desired to promote "the cause of civilization and of right" which the United States and the Allies were defending,—a duty which was imposed upon the American states by "continental solidarity."¹¹⁹ Apparently Salvador, which remained neutral, declared herself to be friendly to the United States.

In South America certain nations eventually took similar action. After the United States entered the war several of those nations declared that they were neutral. To that neutral policy Venezuela and Colombia adhered until the end of the War.¹²⁰

The first South American republic to take a more decided attitude in regard to the war was Bolivia, which, on April 13, 1917, handed the German envoy at La Paz his passports, informing him that because a steamship navigating neutral waters with the Bolivian minister to Berlin on board had been torpedoed

¹¹⁶ Robertson, "The Wilson Doctrine in South America," in the *Nation*, vol. cvi, pp. 703-5.

¹¹⁷ *Official Bulletin*, September 24, 1918.

¹¹⁸ *The New York Tribune*, April 8, 1917.

¹¹⁹ *The New York Times*, July 23, 1918.

¹²⁰ On Colombia, see pp. 184, 185, *supra*.

by a German submarine, his government could no longer maintain diplomatic relations with Germany.¹²¹ After fruitless negotiations with the German Government in regard to the submariining of a Peruvian vessel, early in October, 1917, at the instance of Secretary Francisco Tudela, the Peruvian congress decided to rupture diplomatic relations with the Imperial Government. In a noteworthy cablegram to Secretary Lansing Tudela declared that Peru desired "a uniform continental policy" and wished that the entire continent would support the policy of the United States.¹²² When the news reached Quito that Von Perl, the ex-German minister to Peru, was contemplating a trip to that capital, a warning was sent to Lima to the effect that Von Perl's reception by the Government of Ecuador would be "incompatible with the principles of American solidarity."¹²³

In the note sent by the Chilean secretary of foreign affairs to the ambassador of the United States in reply to his announcement concerning the rupture of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany that secretary declared that Chile reserved the liberty to demand due respect for all her rights at whatever moment the Germans might perform an act of hostility against her vessels. That secretary further declared that his government considered this policy in harmony with the juridical objects sought by the United States in support of the general principles of neutrality and of her high ideals of world peace.¹²⁴

Argentina adopted a similar policy. On April 10, 1917, the Argentine Government notified the United States that it recognized the justice of her decision to declare war on the German Government, because that decision was provoked by "the violation of the principles of neutrality established by the rules of international law which have been considered a definite achievement of civilization."¹²⁵ Soon after President Wilson's message to Congress of April 2, 1917, became known in Buenos

¹²¹ *La prensa*, April 7 and 14, 1917.

¹²² *Official Bulletin*, October 12, 1917.

¹²³ *La prensa*, October 11, 1917. See further, *The Brazilian Green Book*, p. 106.

¹²⁴ Robertson, "Chile and the World War," in the *Nation*, vol. cxv, pp. 306, 307.

¹²⁵ *The New York Tribune*, April 12, 1917.

Aires, a group of Argentine thinkers assembled at the home of the distinguished publicist, Luis M. Drago, and indited a telegram of sympathy to Wilson. They declared their adhesion to the principles of Wilson's "immortal" message which they said would be the "device of democracy and liberty in the struggle undertaken against tyranny and absolutism" that had sought a refuge in "their last bulwark, the Central Empires of Europe."¹²⁶ After the publication of the notorious Luxburg correspondence by the United States Government in September, 1917,—correspondence which showed that the German envoy at Buenos Aires had covertly advised his government to spare two small Argentine vessels that were about to enter the submarine zone, or else to sink them without leaving a trace—both houses of the Argentine congress adopted resolutions favoring the rupture of diplomatic relations with Germany.¹²⁷ President Irigoyen eventually dismissed the German envoy. Although there was a strong sentiment in Buenos Aires in favor of drastic action toward Germany,¹²⁸ yet, apparently influenced by persons who believed that the Argentine Government should remain neutral, he took no further step of significance.

Apparently with less provocation Uruguay took a more decided attitude toward Germany than her southern neighbor. In response to the announcement of the United States declaring the existence of a state of war with Germany, the Uruguayan secretary of foreign affairs declared that no occasion had arisen to impel his government to take similar action, that in consequence Uruguay had resolved to maintain her neutrality, but that she expressed her sympathy and moral support for the cause of the United States.¹²⁹ Early in June, 1917, the news reached Montevideo that a Uruguayan vessel had been torpedoed by a German submarine. Shortly afterwards President Viera issued a decree which expressed the Pan-American spirit of his administration. He announced that "no American country, which in defense of its own rights should find itself in a state of

¹²⁶ *La prensa*, April 10, 1917.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, September 23-27, 1917.

¹²⁸ Robertson, "Argentina's Attitude to the War," in the *Nation*, vol. civ, pp. 234, 235.

¹²⁹ *La prensa*, April 15, 1917.

war with nations of other continents," would be treated as a belligerent by Uruguay.¹³⁰ At a secret session of the Uruguayan congress on October 7, evidently at the instance of the president, both houses voted to sever diplomatic relations with Germany. In accordance with that action, on October 7 the president issued a decree announcing that "diplomatic and commercial relations between Uruguay and the German Imperial Government" had been severed. Passports were promptly handed to to the kaiser's agents in Montevideo and cablegrams were sent to the diplomatic and consular officials of Uruguay in Germany commanding them to depart from German soil.¹³¹

At an early stage in the war publicists of Brazil realized that Germany's submarine policy was a special menace to their country.¹³² After Germany's announcement of a ruthless submarine campaign, Brazil informed Germany that she considered it essential for the maintenance of the relations existing between the two countries that no Brazilian bark should be attacked in any sea upon any pretext whatsoever.¹³³ Accordingly on April 11, 1917, after news reached South America that a Brazilian vessel had been torpedoed without warning, Lauro Müller—the minister of foreign affairs—announced that Brazil had broken off diplomatic relations with Germany.¹³⁴ Soon afterwards the German minister departed from Rio de Janeiro. In the end of May, when news reached the capital of the torpedoing of another Brazilian vessel, the government took a significant step. President Wenceslau Braz sent a trenchant message to congress recommending that Brazil should resort to measures for national defense. He declared that the seizure of the German merchant ships anchored in Brazil's ports was imperatively necessary "to safeguard the public interest and the dignity of the nation."¹³⁵ On June 1 the president signed a bill revoking Brazil's neutrality in the war of the United States with Germany and providing that he could utilize the German vessels which were interned in Brazilian ports.¹³⁶ In the words of Da Gama,

¹³⁰ *Official Bulletin*, June 20, 1917.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, October 9, 1917.

¹³² Robertson, "The Position of Brazil," in the *Nation*, vol. CIV, pp. 208, 209.

¹³³ *The Brazilian Green Book*, p. 20.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹³⁵ *Official Bulletin*, May 29, 1917.

¹³⁶ *The Brazilian Green Book*, p. 43.

the Brazilian minister at Washington, "The Republic thus recognized the fact that one of the belligerents is a constituent portion of the American Continent and that we are bound to that belligerent by traditional friendship and the same sentiment in the defense of the vital interests of America and the accepted principles of law."¹³⁷ By a message of October 25 President Wenceslau Braz informed congress that another Brazilian vessel had just been torpedoed by a German submarine and that her captain had been imprisoned, declaring that Brazil could not avoid the state of war which Germany had imposed upon her. On the afternoon of the following day the president signed a law containing a single article announcing that a state of war existed between Brazil and Germany. This law authorized the president to take any measures which he might deem necessary for the national defense and public security.¹³⁸

Thus Brazil was ultimately forced to make war upon the kaiser. She joined Cuba, Panamá, and certain Central American nations which had already ranged themselves beside the United States. A number of the Hispanic-American nations thus either ruptured diplomatic relations with the Imperial German government or declared war upon it. Several of those nations took such action because of the identical issue upon which the United States had been forced to act, namely, the lawless, ruthless submarine policy of Germany. The emphasis which several Hispanic-American statesmen placed upon American or continental "solidarity" at that critical juncture warrants the view that the World War stimulated that Pan-American spirit whose manifold expressions have been traced in the present chapter.

¹³⁷ *Official Bulletin*, June 22, 1917.

¹³⁸ *The Brazilian Green Book*, pp. 86, 87; *O paiz*, October 27, 1917.

APPENDIX

TABLES SHOWING COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES
WITH THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS

1830-1916

APPENDIX

TABLE I

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS IN
THE YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1830¹

Country	Imports into the United States			Exports from the United States		
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Argentina . . .	\$1,122,895	\$119,778	\$1,242,673	\$425,220	\$204,667	\$629,887
Bolivia . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Brazil . . .	617,222	1,789,543	2,406,765	1,600,999	240,769	1,841,768
Chile . . .	170,743	10,273	181,016	915,718	620,396	1,536,114
Colombia . . .	202,778	502,321	705,099	316,732	180,258	496,990
Central America . . .	93,625	77,336	170,961	138,456	111,662	250,118
Cuba . . .	51,532	5,163,614	5,215,146	3,438,960	1,201,988	4,640,948
Dominican Republic . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ecuador . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mexico . . .	96,197	435,328	531,525	985,764	3,851,694	4,837,458
Paraguay . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Peru . . .	313,536	67,827	381,363	32,400	39,402	71,802
Uruguay ^a . . .	.....	.....	.....	3,325	.....	3,325
Venezuela . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total . . .	\$2,668,528	\$8,166,020	\$10,834,548	\$7,857,574	\$6,450,836	\$14,308,410

^a Uruguayan statistics are for 1832.

TABLE II

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS IN
THE YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1835²

Country	Imports into the United States			Exports from the United States		
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Argentina . . .	\$783,774	\$59,917	\$843,691	\$383,695	\$225,547	\$609,242
Bolivia . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Brazil . . .	5,083,760	424,101	5,507,861	1,809,791	454,934	2,264,725
Chile . . .	497,712	4,233	501,945	586,188	355,896	941,884
Colombia . . .	1,134,825	341,686	1,476,511	455,268	433,032	888,300
Central America . . .	168,970	15,167	184,137	111,624	67,469	179,093
Cuba . . .	4,044,790	7,035,569	11,080,359	3,917,436	1,244,197	5,161,633
Dominican Republic . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ecuador . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mexico . . .	885,915	261,350	1,147,265	3,016,612	6,004,214	9,020,826
Paraguay . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Peru . . .	438,533	9,868	448,401	.....	.....	.....
Uruguay ^a . . .	10,160	350	10,510	7,864	.....	7,864
Venezuela . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total . . .	\$13,048,439	\$8,152,241	\$21,200,680	\$10,288,478	\$8,785,089	\$19,073,567

^a Uruguayan statistics are for 1837.

¹ Compiled from *American Commerce*, pp. 3280-3312. ² *Ibid.*, pp. 3280-3310.

APPENDIX

TABLE III

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS IN THE YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1840³

Country	Imports into the United States			Exports from the United States		
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Argentina . . .	\$288,194	\$5,368	\$293,562	\$280,144	\$50,551	\$330,695
Bolivia . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Brazil . . .	4,631,663	281,111	4,912,774	2,135,551	268,849	2,404,400
Chile . . .	1,124,855	11,468	1,136,323	1,372,148	356,575	1,728,723
Colombia . . .	87,144	2,070	89,214	57,922	76,625	134,547
Central America . . .	89,767	72,672	162,439	128,161	79,185	207,346
Cuba . . .	3,029,804	6,277,510	9,307,314	5,329,144	831,801	6,160,945
Dominican Republic . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ecuador . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mexico . . .	689,487	26,622	716,109	969,938	1,545,403	2,515,341
Paraguay . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Peru . . .	286,906	5,068	291,974	.....	.....	.....
Uruguay . . .	468,456	18,549	487,005	82,102	35,961	118,063
Venezuela . . .	999,033	328,612	1,327,645	547,443	162,472	709,915
Total . . .	\$11,695,309	\$7,029,050	\$18,724,359	\$10,902,553	\$3,407,422	\$14,309,975

TABLE IV

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS IN THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1845⁴

Country	Imports into the United States			Exports from the United States		
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Argentina . . .	\$941	\$1,749,757	\$1,750,698	\$317,575	\$55,216	\$372,791
Bolivia . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Brazil . . .	4,511,523	1,565,599	6,077,122	2,295,703	251,740	2,547,443
Chile . . .	875,244	182,361	1,057,605	1,247,360	300,831	1,548,191
Colombia . . .	37,726	86,807	124,533	48,717	30,260	78,977
Central America . . .	26,724	35,134	61,858	39,548	25,134	64,682
Cuba . . .	283,945	5,992,301	6,276,246	6,201,114	349,941	6,551,055
Dominican Republic . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ecuador ^a . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,130	1,130
Mexico . . .	247,516	499,013	746,529	784,154	368,177	1,152,331
Paraguay . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Peru ^b . . .	180,960	136,931	317,891	33,424	.....	33,424
Uruguay . . .	.....	20,573	20,573	140,986	10,050	151,036
Venezuela . . .	650,889	597,938	1,248,827	527,029	37,064	564,093
Total . . .	\$6,815,468	\$10,866,414	\$17,681,882	\$11,635,610	\$1,429,543	\$13,065,153

^a Ecuadorian statistics are for 1846.^b Year ending September 30, 1845.³ Compiled from *American Commerce*, pp. 3280-3313.⁴ *Ibid.*

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TABLE V

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS IN
THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1855⁵

Country	Imports into the United States			Exports from the United States		
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Argentina . . .	\$1,429	\$2,543,658	\$2,545,087	\$807,148	\$104,516	\$911,664
Bolivia . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Brazil . . .	11,855,079	3,362,395	15,217,474	3,864,604	255,144	4,119,748
Chile . . .	689,875	2,817,313	3,507,188	2,981,065	432,026	3,413,091
Colombia . . .	85,485	1,235,244	1,320,729	705,334	82,847	788,181
Central America . . .	90,997	73,960	164,957	210,584	51,586	262,170
Cuba . . .	285,392	18,156,460	18,441,852	7,601,079	354,131	7,955,210
Dominican Republic . . .	801	132,217	133,018	155,792	7,922	163,714
Ecuador . . .	.....	12,553	12,553	66,092	.....	66,092
Mexico . . .	17,508	887,242	904,750	2,253,368	668,236	2,921,604
Paraguay . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Peru ^a . . .	265,212	332,406	597,618	756,323	114,223	870,546
Uruguay . . .	360	242,349	242,709	394,657	24,275	418,932
Venezuela . . .	1,480,837	2,126,347	3,607,184	897,340	55,645	952,985
Total . . .	\$14,772,975	\$31,922,144	\$46,695,119	\$20,693,386	\$2,150,551	\$22,843,937

^a Year ending September 30, 1855.

TABLE VI

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS IN
THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1860⁶

Country	Imports into the United States			Exports from the United States		
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Argentina . . .	\$1,227,768	\$2,793,080	\$4,020,848	\$725,694	\$149,942	\$875,636
Bolivia . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Brazil . . .	17,117,121	4,087,682	21,204,803	5,740,638	281,089	6,021,727
Chile . . .	1,620,599	447,136	2,067,735	2,845,225	423,448	3,268,673
Colombia . . .	599,821	2,253,805	2,853,626	1,341,605	150,699	1,492,304
Central America . . .	146,477	154,781	301,258	110,389	28,164	138,553
Cuba . . .	357,887	32,065,873	32,423,760	11,693,041	416,770	12,109,811
Dominican Republic . . .	19,781	263,317	283,098	156,054	13,246	169,300
Ecuador . . .	.....	.....	.....	19,545	.....	19,545
Mexico . . .	586,016	1,317,415	1,903,431	3,309,379	2,015,334	5,324,713
Paraguay . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Peru ^a . . .	218,434	90,018	308,452	869,781	117,891	987,672
Uruguay . . .	78,210	830,540	908,750	661,326	128,032	789,358
Venezuela . . .	1,352,091	1,485,128	2,837,219	792,650	41,550	834,200
Total . . .	\$23,324,205	\$45,788,775	\$69,112,980	\$28,265,327	\$3,766,165	\$32,031,492

^a Year ending September 30, 1860.⁵ Compiled from *American Commerce*, pp. 3280-3314.⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 3281-3314.

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TABLE VII

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS IN THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1865⁷

Country	Imports into the United States			Exports from the United States		
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Argentina . . .	\$99,561	\$3,483,645	\$3,583,206	\$1,711,257	\$87,362	\$1,798,619
Bolivia . . .	....	....	....	....	....	....
Brazil . . .	220,514	9,563,798	9,784,312	6,485,872	94,289	6,580,161
Chile . . .	19,800	1,518,687	1,538,487	1,604,502	135,639	1,740,141
Colombia . . .	1,944,835	2,213,862	4,158,697	4,051,561	456,326	4,507,887
Central America . . .	26,617	349,691	376,308	149,522	12,931	162,453
Cuba . . .	336,300	29,694,056	30,030,356	17,930,787	746,324	18,677,111
Dominican Republic . . .	23,910	6,705	30,615	272,981	3,334	276,315
Ecuador . . .	....	....	....	9,811	1,903	11,714
Mexico . . .	369,915	5,850,959	6,220,874	13,819,972	2,530,867	16,350,839
Paraguay . . .	....	....	....	....	....	....
Peru*. . .	6,993	243,822	250,815	722,803	58,583	781,386
Uruguay . . .	24,296	602,380	626,676	807,409	66,674	874,083
Venezuela . . .	118,435	1,203,841	1,322,276	1,789,912	97,903	1,887,815
Total . . .	\$3,191,176	\$54,731,446	\$57,922,622	\$49,356,389	\$4,292,135	\$53,648,524

* Year ending September 30, 1865.

TABLE VIII

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS IN THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1870⁸

Country	Imports into the United States			Exports from the United States		
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Argentina . . .	\$269,490	\$6,145,179	\$6,414,669	\$2,281,100	\$188,766	\$2,469,866
Bolivia . . .	....	....	....	....	....	....
Brazil . . .	462,766	24,698,453	25,161,219	5,665,098	109,225	5,774,323
Chile . . .	9,206	764,476	773,682	1,670,534	87,765	1,758,299
Colombia . . .	1,438,106	3,070,617	4,508,723	3,979,396	178,759	4,158,155
Central America . . .	54,263	680,302	734,565	199,132	33,346	232,478
Cuba . . .	148,773	53,628,335	53,777,108	12,879,287	1,250,527	14,129,814
Dominican Republic . . .	....	....	....	....	....	....
Ecuador . . .	....	....	....	....	....	....
Mexico . . .	522,907	2,192,758	2,715,665	4,544,745	1,314,955	5,859,700
Paraguay . . .	....	....	....	....	....	....
Peru*. . .	1,343,692	1,214,141	2,557,833	1,858,244	115,923	1,974,167
Uruguay . . .	35,109	1,595,291	1,630,400	1,142,602	56,635	1,199,237
Venezuela . . .	87,808	1,829,507	1,917,315	850,048	16,492	866,540
Total . . .	\$4,372,120	\$95,819,059	\$100,191,179	\$35,070,186	\$3,352,393	\$38,422,579

* Year ending September 30, 1870.

⁷ Compiled from *American Commerce*, pp. 3281-3314.⁸ *Ibid.*

TABLE IX

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS IN
THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1880⁹

Country	Imports into the United States			Exports from the United States		
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Argentina . . .	\$4,457,940	\$1,756,635	\$6,214,575	\$1,779,501	\$103,340	\$1,882,841
Bolivia . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Brazil . . .	45,777,595	6,192,495	51,970,090	8,496,696	108,650	8,605,346
Chile . . .	989,419	265,317	1,254,736	967,551	225	967,776
Colombia . . .	8,145,054	296,918	8,441,972	5,228,836	108,478	5,337,314
Central America . . .	3,149,028	164,441	3,313,469	1,729,215	55,640	1,784,855
Cuba . . .	555,627	64,867,391	65,423,018	10,924,633	301,066	11,225,699
Dominican Republic . . .	164,979	495,514	660,493	939,501	23,453	962,954
Ecuador . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mexico . . .	4,852,659	2,356,934	7,209,593	6,065,974	1,800,519	7,866,493
Paraguay . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Peru ^a . . .	272,008	89,300	361,308	907,603	10,533	918,136
Uruguay . . .	3,787,307	1,754,728	5,542,035	880,371	48,080	928,451
Venezuela . . .	5,992,060	47,032	6,039,092	2,268,705	62,040	2,330,745
Total . . .	\$78,143,676	\$78,286,705	\$156,430,381	\$40,188,586	\$2,622,024	\$12,810,610

^a Year ending September 30, 1880.

TABLE X

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS IN
THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1885¹⁰

Country	Imports into the United States			Exports from the United States		
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Argentina . . .	\$3,154,337	\$1,174,173	\$4,328,510	\$4,327,026	\$349,475	\$4,676,501
Bolivia ^a . . .	.....	.....	.....	1,304	.....	1,304
Brazil . . .	38,136,191	7,127,469	45,263,660	7,258,035	59,258	7,317,293
Chile . . .	399,464	205,061	604,525	2,192,672	18,335	2,211,007
Colombia . . .	2,335,083	6,994	2,342,077	5,397,412	185,957	5,583,369
Central America . . .	6,149,873	259,142	6,409,015	2,667,943	94,588	2,762,531
Cuba . . .	1,786,049	40,520,044	42,306,093	8,719,195	286,965	9,006,160
Dominican Republic . . .	96,217	1,365,202	1,461,419	962,428	24,273	986,701
Ecuador . . .	1,130,934	235	1,131,169	1,049,392	3,380	1,052,772
Mexico . . .	5,173,441	4,093,580	9,267,021	7,370,599	970,185	8,349,784
Paraguay . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Peru ^b . . .	1,749,632	15,258	1,764,890	735,979	6,126	742,105
Uruguay . . .	2,317,139	417,478	2,734,617	1,601,759	80,684	1,682,443
Venezuela . . .	6,267,887	41,693	6,309,580	2,992,968	50,641	3,043,609
Total . . .	\$68,696,247	\$55,226,329	\$123,922,576	\$45,276,712	\$2,129,867	\$47,406,579

^a Statistics for 1887.

^b Year ending September 30, 1885.

⁹ Compiled from *American Commerce*, pp. 3281-3314.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

APPENDIX

TABLE XI

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS IN
THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1890¹¹

Country	Imports into the United States			Exports from the United States		
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Argentina	\$3,888,381	\$1,513,316	\$5,401,697	\$8,322,627	\$564,850	\$8,887,477
Bolivia	30	...	30	11,002	...	11,002
Brazil	57,604,846	1,713,910	59,318,756	11,902,496	69,718	11,972,214
Chile	2,987,183	196,066	3,183,249	3,219,465	6,899	3,226,364
Colombia	3,570,594	4,659	3,575,253	2,522,351	63,477	2,585,828
Costa Rica	1,675,841	870	1,676,711	1,098,952	27,218	1,126,170
Cuba	2,761,711	51,039,880	53,801,591	12,669,509	414,906	13,084,415
Dominican Republic	230,841	1,720,172	1,951,013	926,651	23,566	950,217
Ecuador	533,994	1,066	535,060	714,924	284	715,208
Guatemala	2,257,222	24,459	2,281,681	1,326,388	19,331	1,345,719
Honduras	980,681	3,723	984,404	522,631	29,393	522,024
Mexico	15,536,100	7,154,815	22,690,915	12,666,108	619,179	13,285,287
Nicaragua	1,655,372	318	1,655,690	1,270,073	102,946	1,373,019
Panamá . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...
Paraguay . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...
Peru ^a	325,853	25,842	351,695	1,418,561	8,740	1,427,301
Salvador	1,384,112	69,846	1,453,958	886,231	13,315	899,546
Uruguay	1,723,357	31,546	1,754,903	3,210,112	141,762	3,351,874
Venezuela	10,960,770	5,995	10,966,765	3,984,280	44,303	4,028,583
Total	\$108,076,888	\$63,506,483	\$171,583,371	\$66,672,361	\$2,149,887	\$68,822,248

^a Year ending September 30, 1890.

¹¹ Compiled from *American Commerce*, pp. 3281-3314.

TABLE XII

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS IN
THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1895 ¹²

Country	Imports into the United States			Exports from the United States		
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Argentina . . .	\$6,835,982	\$839,288	\$7,675,270	\$4,399,216	\$56,947	\$4,456,163
Bolivia . . .	....	....	....	10,888	....	10,888
Brazil . . .	77,080,854	1,750,622	78,831,476	15,135,125	29,954	15,165,079
Chile . . .	4,421,848	43,713	4,465,561	2,789,286	4,813	2,794,099
Colombia . . .	3,363,692	349,990	3,713,682	2,498,856	97,446	2,596,302
Costa Rica . . .	3,294,874	722	3,295,596	957,862	26,223	984,085
Cuba . . .	17,684,765	35,186,494	52,871,259	12,533,260	274,401	12,807,561
Dominican Republic . . .	477,707	1,036,876	1,514,583	1,318,919	42,148	1,361,067
Ecuador . . .	814,733	6,933	821,666	734,426	915	735,341
Guatemala . . .	2,691,942	7,442	2,699,384	2,596,032	69,376	2,665,408
Honduras . . .	825,974	46,338	872,312	615,009	30,772	645,781
Mexico . . .	12,903,789	2,731,999	15,635,788	14,582,484	423,422	15,005,906
Nicaragua . . .	1,513,172	25,620	1,538,792	967,329	106,138	1,073,467
Panamá . . .	....	....	....	....	....	....
Paraguay . . .	10,239	35	10,274	....	....	....
Peru*. . .	441,885	31,430	473,315	626,897	3,488	630,385
Salvador . . .	3,174,588	89	3,174,677	1,236,595	24,033	1,260,628
Uruguay . . .	2,409,349	290,299	2,699,648	1,240,025	21,976	1,262,001
Venezuela . . .	9,117,079	956,872	10,073,951	3,706,978	33,486	3,740,464
Total . . .	\$147,062,472	\$43,304,762	\$190,367,234	\$65,949,187	\$1,245,538	\$67,194,725

* Year ending September 30, 1895.

¹² Compiled from *American Commerce*, pp. 3281-3314.

APPENDIX

TABLE XIII

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS IN
THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1905¹³

Country	Imports into the United States			Exports from the United States		
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Argentina . . .	\$3,342,564	\$12,012,337	\$15,354,901	\$23,501,113	\$62,943	\$23,564,056
Bolivia . . . .	....	....	....	105,962	79	106,041
Brazil	97,966,274	1,876,820	99,843,094	10,908,941	76,155	10,985,096
Chile	10,695,067	376,546	11,071,613	5,372,040	19,317	5,391,357
Colombia . . .	5,469,036	942,757	6,411,793	3,523,027	59,762	3,582,789
Costa Rica . .	4,199,846	96,888	4,296,734	1,729,572	38,857	1,768,429
Cuba	3,381,953	82,922,306	86,304,259	36,407,932	1,972,669	38,380,801
Dominican Republic . . .	1,142,023	3,522,186	4,664,209	1,581,223	85,566	1,666,789
Ecuador	2,048,099	454,076	2,502,175	1,748,085	2,293	1,750,378
Guatemala . . .	2,987,239	94,314	3,081,553	2,543,081	111,541	2,654,622
Honduras . . .	1,958,752	152,560	2,111,312	1,586,646	143,699	1,730,345
Mexico	39,025,918	7,444,958	46,470,876	44,824,868	931,248	45,756,116
Nicaragua . . .	1,389,525	114,352	1,513,877	1,753,398	191,158	1,944,556
Panamá	730,729	82,425	813,154	4,636,056	59,506	4,745,562
Paraguay	2,205	....	2,205	39,130	....	39,130
Peru	1,709,606	1,443,358	3,152,964	3,646,110	11,115	3,657,225
Salvador	1,060,837	52,332	1,113,169	1,302,474	15,952	1,318,426
Uruguay	302,305	2,856,551	3,158,856	1,985,473	5,221	1,990,694
Venezuela . . .	5,844,442	1,265,408	7,109,850	3,164,693	48,882	3,213,575
Total	\$183,266,420	\$115,710,174	\$298,976,594	\$150,409,824	\$3,835,963	\$154,245,787

¹³ Compiled from *Analysis of the Foreign Commerce of the United States*, pp. 60-106.

TABLE XIV

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS IN
THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1910¹⁴

Country	Imports into the United States			Exports from the United States		
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Argentina . . .	\$17,590,832	\$15,872,432	\$33,463,264	\$40,364,342	\$330,599	\$40,694,941
Bolivia	10	179	189	603,721	...	603,721
Brazil	107,599,155	555,336	108,154,491	22,764,183	133,707	22,897,890
Chile	20,840,923	80,403	20,921,326	8,293,312	10,934	8,304,246
Colombia . . .	6,788,504	696,637	7,485,141	3,889,079	90,807	3,979,886
Costa Rica . .	3,628,047	13,251	3,641,298	3,031,369	19,141	3,050,510
Cuba	3,705,045	118,822,992	122,528,037	51,794,848	1,063,910	52,858,758
Dominican Republic . . .	2,356,020	106,696	2,462,716	3,030,520	75,882	3,106,402
Ecuador	2,593,767	265,947	2,859,714	2,213,907	2,044	2,215,951
Guatemala . . .	1,779,387	52,937	1,832,324	1,939,495	19,751	1,959,246
Honduras . . .	2,003,636	8,589	2,012,225	1,579,208	26,285	1,605,493
Mexico	48,441,499	10,354,444	58,795,943	57,345,549	848,155	58,193,704
Nicaragua . . .	1,249,599	72,168	1,321,767	1,653,553	37,239	1,690,792
Panamá	2,035,945	193,244	2,229,189	20,489,503	106,868	20,596,371
Paraguay . . .	29,170	...	29,170	61,142	...	61,142
Peru	6,616,354	1,005,143	7,621,497	4,536,126	11,927	4,548,053
Salvador . . .	1,173,933	2,460	1,176,393	1,309,744	7,213	1,316,957
Uruguay . . .	4,635,323	2,778,573	7,413,896	4,227,566	44,579	4,272,145
Venezuela . . .	6,407,010	294,342	6,701,352	2,745,932	51,278	2,797,210
Total	\$239,474,159	\$151,175,773	\$390,649,932	\$231,873,099	\$2,880,319	\$234,753,418

¹⁴ Compiled from *Commerce and Navigation of the United States*, 1910, pp. 1224-54.

APPENDIX

TABLE XV

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN NATIONS IN
THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1916¹⁵

Country	Imports into the United States			Exports from the United States		
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Argentina			\$112,512,420	\$65,826,002	\$552,364	\$66,378,366
Bolivia			204,904	1,287,596	27,080	1,314,676
Brazil			132,663,984	39,684,916	887,281	40,572,197
Chile			64,154,859	24,091,929	147,897	24,239,826
Colombia			21,458,029	11,287,666	379,266	11,666,932
Costa Rica			4,335,415	3,483,728	84,478	3,568,206
Cuba			228,977,567	123,425,573	3,773,005	127,198,578
Dominican Republic			13,456,653	7,143,323	484,180	7,627,503
Ecuador			5,848,290	3,557,362	73,376	3,630,738
Guatemala			8,724,728	3,774,206	73,824	3,848,030
Honduras			2,978,473	4,558,981	50,434	4,609,415
Mexico			97,676,544	46,366,035	1,579,484	47,945,519
Nicaragua			2,394,824	3,008,259	160,845	3,169,104
Panamá			5,336,299	23,221,615	239,196	23,460,811
Paraguay			53,337	73,449	3	73,452
Peru			24,326,689	9,381,384	144,846	9,526,230
Salvador			2,129,868	3,007,437	40,903	3,048,340
Uruguay			14,475,478	10,233,753	53,631	10,287,384
Venezuela			14,942,448	8,863,343	225,655	9,088,998
Total			\$756,650,809	\$392,276,557	\$8,977,748	\$401,254,305

¹⁵ Compiled from *Trade of the United States with the World, 1916-1917*, pt. I, *Imports*, pp. 57-84, and pt. II, *Exports*, pp. 96-228.

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